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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a grammatical sketch of Colville, a Salishan language of eastern Washington. After an introductory chapter on language family, the phonology (consonants, stops, resonants, vowels) is outlined. The chapter on morphology discusses the basic intransitive nature of all roots and the production of transitive, middle, and intransitive bases. Further grammatical forms such as imperatives, reflexives, instrumentals, and developmentals are included. Syntactic patterns are outlined in the final chapter. (Author/DD)

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COLVILLE GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN LINGUISTICS

MAY 1973

By

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I am very grateful to Mrs. Madeline DeSautel, Mr. Pete Seymour, the late Mrs. Helen Toulou, and many other Colvilles, not only for their help, but also for their continuing friendship.

I offer special thanks to Professor Thompson. He has provided me with counsel, guidance and assistance in a measure greater than I deserve.

Preface

In writing this grammatical sketch of Colville I have not adhered to any particular model of linguistic description. Rather, the goal I have set for myself is to couch my description in clear prose statements. Some of these are completely explicit; they account for those phenomena I understand well. Others attempt to state as clearly as possible the conditions for those phenomena which I do not fully understand. Whatever solution is offered in such cases is specifically indicated as tentative. Thus I have intended to present not a formal hypothesis, but an accurate description of the facts of the language. In fact this sketch aims to be written in such a way that a linguist, if he so wishes, may draw upon the data to test any given theory of linguistic description.

Stating the facts of Colville in terms of clear prose statements does allow an accurate description, and at the same time makes the grammar accessible to non-specialists. In this effort I have drawn on a long tradition in Amerindian linguistics, from Boas to Li, Newman, Haas and many others, that aims to allow the individual structure of the language emerge.

COLVILLE GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

By Anthony Mattina

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Division of the
University of Hawaii in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a grammatical sketch of Colville, a Salishan language of eastern Washington. It is based on the data obtained in four summers of field work, from 1968 to 1971.

After an introductory chapter which places the language within its family, and otherwise defines the aims of the study and the conditions under which it was undertaken, the phonology is outlined. Consonants occur in six positions: labial, apical, lateral, velar, postvelar and glottal. Stops are voiceless and pattern in two series, glottalized and unglottalized. In the apical complex there are both stops t̓, t, and affricates c̓, c; the glottalized lateral affricate lacks an unglottalized counterpart; velar and postvelar stops occur rounded and unrounded. In the spirant series the labial position is not represented; the principal allophones of the spirants are voiceless. Resonants are voiced and, like the stops, occur in glottalized and unglottalized series; the postvelar resonants are actually pharyngeals. Vowels are i, a, u, and ə, of which the last is never stressed. Morphophonemic sections introduce the most straight-forward phenomena of epenthesis and syllabicity of resonants, then deal with other changes. The most complex of these are stress assignment rules, affecting the vowels of roots and suffixes.

The chapter on morphology discusses the basic intransitive nature of all roots, and the processes these may undergo to produce the simplest kinds of transitive, middle, and intransitive bases. The pronominal system is detailed here. A presentation of more complex bases follows--reduplicated, infixed and extended bases. These last include in their make up one or more lexical affixes--bound morphemes with concrete primarily non-grammatical meanings. This chapter then describes a variety of further grammatical forms such as imperatives, reflexives, instrumentals and developmentals. It also treats three aspectual distinctions signalled by affixes, and concludes with a discussion of compounds.

Syntactic patterns are outlined in the final chapter. All full words are basically predicative; in simple sentences they function either as predicates or, with appropriate marking, as complements. Predicates are sentence-initial; complements follow. Complements may be marked by several preposed particles such as the definite, sequential, locational, agentive, causal, or comitative. Clause types are interrogative, evidential, modal, future. More complicated sentences are formed by juxtaposition of clauses introduced by dependent clause particles. The variety of particles is discussed and exemplified here. The chapter closes with a discussion of restricted words--words which are more like full words than particles, but which lack the wide distribution of full words; among these are impersonal, deictic, and interrogative words, and proper names.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Preface . . . iii

Abstract . . . iv

Chapter

- 1. Introduction . . . 1
- 2. Phonology . . . 7
  - 2.1. The consonantal system . . . 7
    - 2.11. Stops . . . 8
    - 2.12. Spirants . . . 8
    - 2.13. Resonants . . . 8
  - 2.2. The vocalic system . . . 10
    - 2.21. Full vs. reduced vowels . . . 10
    - 2.22. Allophonic range of vowels . . . 10
      - 2.221. Schwa . . . 10
      - 2.222. /i/ . . . 11
      - 2.223. /u/ . . . 11
      - 2.224. /a/ . . . 11
  - 2.3. Stress and intonation . . . 13
  - 2.4. Morphophonemics . . . 15
    - 2.41. Apocope . . . 15
    - 2.42. Insertion of glottal stop . . . 15
    - 2.43. Schwa epenthesis . . . 16
      - 2.431. Between identical obstruents . . . 16
      - 2.432. Between a stop and its glottalized counterpart . . . 16
      - 2.433. Between a glottalized consonant and a consonant . . . 16
      - 2.434. Between a consonant and a glottal stop . . . 16
      - 2.435. Between an unrounded (post) velar and //w// . . . 17
      - 2.436. Proclitic particles . . . 17
    - 2.44. Syllabicity of resonants . . . 17
      - 2.441. Consonant plus resonant . . . 17
      - 2.442. Resonant plus consonant . . . 18
      - 2.443. Free variation of əR and Rə with full vowels . . . 18
      - 2.444. Vocalization of resonants . . . 18
      - 2.445. Resonant simplification . . . 19

Chapter Page

- 2.5. Other morphophonemic changes 20
  - 2.51. Changes connected with particles . . 20
    - 2.511. Vowel apocope 20
    - 2.512. Vowel dissimilation 20
  - 2.52. Changes affecting prefixes 21
    - 2.521. Decapitation 22
    - 2.522. Consonant fusion 22
    - 2.523. Consonant dissimilation . . 22
    - 2.524. Consonant loss 23
    - 2.525. Changes in reduplicative prefixes 23
  - 2.53. Changes affecting roots 24
    - 2.531. //mut// 24
    - 2.532. //yx̣ís// 24
    - 2.533. Vowelless roots 25
  - 2.54. Changes involved in suffixes 25
    - 2.541. Stress placement 25
    - 2.542. Unstressed roots with full vowel 29
    - 2.543. Metathesized roots 30
    - 2.544. s-affrication 33
    - 2.545. t- and n-deletion 33
    - 2.546. x- deletion 34

- 3. Morphology 36
  - 3.1. Transitive and intransitive bases 36
    - 3.11. Intransitive stems 37
      - 3.111. Primary reference pronouns . 37
      - 3.112. Absolutive pronouns 37
      - 3.113. Primary suffix //-p// . . . 39
      - 3.114. Primary suffix //-m// . . . 39
      - 3.115. Stative 40
    - 3.12. Middle stems 42
    - 3.13. Transitive stems 43
      - 3.131. Transitive pronouns 45
      - 3.132. Indefinite forms 51
    - 3.14. Secondary stems 52
      - 3.141. Purposive stems 52
      - 3.142. Success stems 53
        - 3.1421. Transitive 53
        - 3.1422. Middle 54
    - 3.15. Grammatical range of bases 55
    - 3.16. Summary of referent-focus system . . 57
    - 3.17. Summary of the pronominal system . . 58
      - 3.171. The dependent pronouns . . . 58
      - 3.172. The independent pronouns . . 59
        - 3.1721. Members of the set 59
        - 3.1722. Personal enclitics 59

Chapter Page

- 3.2. Complex bases 60
  - 3.21. Reduplicated bases 60
    - 3.211. Unanalyzable forms 60
      - 3.2111. Full reduplication 60
      - 3.2112. Partial reduplication 61
    - 3.212. Iteratives 61
    - 3.213. Special iteratives 63
      - 3.2131. Numeral 63
      - 3.2132. Intensive 63
    - 3.214. Resultives 64
    - 3.215. Diminutives 64
  - 3.22. Infixed bases 65
  - 3.23. Glottalization of resonants 66
  - 3.24. Other derived forms as bases . . . 67
    - 3.241. Directional prefixes . . . 67
    - 3.242. Directive 68
    - 3.243. Locative 69
    - 3.244. Extended bases 70

- 3.3 Further affixation 72
  - 3.31. Imperatives 72
  - 3.32. Absolute mode 73
  - 3.33. Reflexives 75
  - 3.34. Reciprocals 76
  - 3.35. Instrumentals 77
    - 3.351. Stative 78
      - 3.3511. Complex bases . . 78
      - 3.3512. Compound and extended bases . . . 79
      - 3.3513. Further derivation 80
    - 3.352. Middle instrumentals. . . . 80
  - 3.36. State-of-mind 81
    - 31361. Intransitive stems 82
    - 31362. Middle stems 83
    - 3.263. Further derivation 83
  - 3.37. Aspectual affixes 85
    - 3.371. Unrealized 85
    - 3.372. Progressive and inchoative 86
    - 3.373. Actual 88
  - 3.38. Intransitive derivations 89
    - 3.381. Preferential-customary . . 89
    - 3.382. Developmental 89
    - 3.383. Frequentative 90
    - 3.384. Possessive 90
  - 3.39. Diminutive infixation 91

- 3.4. Compounds 92
  - 3.41. Two-root compounds 92
  - 3.42. Numeral compounds 93

Chapter Page

4. Syntax 102
  4.1. Words 103

  4.2. Predicates 104
    4.21. Distribution of words as predicates 104
      4.211. Intransitive and middle . 105
      4.212. Transitive 105
    4.22. Predicative particles 106
      4.221. Evidential 107
      4.222. Contrastive 108
      4.223. Unsuccessful 109

  4.3. Complements 110
    4.31. Positional complements 110
    4.32. Marked complements 111
      4.321. Definite 112
      4.322. Sequential 114
      4.323. Locational 116
      4.324. Source complements 118
        4.3241. Agent-instrument . . . 118
        4.3242. Ablative 119
      4.325. Directional 120
      4.326. Causal 121
      4.327. Comitative 122
    4.33. Emphatic complements 122

  4.4. Clauses 125
    4.41. Interrogative 127
      4.411. Simple 127
      4.412. Dubitative 128
    4.42. Conjunctive 129
      4.421. Independent 129
        4.4211. Additive 129
        4.4212. Contrasitve . . . 130
        4.4213. Additional . . . 130
      4.422. Dependent 131
        4.4221. Additive 131
        4.4222. Alternative . . . 132
        4.4223. Causal 132
    4.43. Evidential 133
    4.44. Modal 133
      4.441. Conditional 133
      4.442. Probable 134
      4.443. Conjectural 135
    4.45. Future 135
    4.46. Relative 135

Chapter Page

- 4.5. Restricted words 137
  - 4.51. Impersonal 138
    - 4.511. Imperfective 139
    - 4.512. Perfective 140
    - 4.513. Quantitative 141
    - 4.514. Assertive 142
    - 4.515. Topicals 143
      - 4.5151. Deictics . . . 143
      - 4.5152. Remainder of the system 146
      - 4.5153. Other deictics 147
  - 4.52. Interrogative indefinites . . . 147
  - 4.53. Interjections 149
  - 4.54. Proper names 149
  - 4.55. Independent pronouns 150
  - 4.56. Problematic words 150
    - 4.561. Difficult to classify . 150
    - 4.562. Frequent words 151

1. Introduction

The Salishan family of North American Indian languages comprises two main divisions: Coast Salishan and Interior Salishan. The Interior Salishan languages can be subdivided in two branches, the Northern and the Southern.

Colville-Okanogan[1] is a language complex of the Southern Interior, flanked to the west by Columbian, and to the south and east by Spokan-Kalispel-Flathead. Further south and east is Coeur d'Alene. All of these languages belong to the Southern Interior branch. Generally north of the Colville-Okanogan speaking territory are found (roughly from east to west) Shuswap, Thompson, and Lilloet, forming the Northern Interior branch.[2]

The Colville-Okanogan continum can be divided into the two northern dialects Okanogan and Lakes, and the southern dialect, Colville. The northern dialects have recently been studied (research conducted concurrently with that reported on here), by Donald Watkins, who based a doctoral dissertation at the University of Alberta (1971) on the materials collected. The southern dialect has provided the great bulk of the materials on which the present analysis is founded, and has suggested the title of this study.

The language is spoken on the Colville reservation of northeastern Washington, which has existed in its present size and state since July 1, 1892. It is bounded on the east and south by the Columbia River (now Roosevelt Lake), on the west by the Okanogan River, and on the north by the 48.5° north parallel of latitude. For twenty years before 1892, the Colville Reservation extended northward as far as the international boundary with Canada, for an additional 1,501,000 acres of territory, but this was restored to the public domain in 1872. As a result of the reduction in size of the land reserved for Indians, many local residents migrated south, resulting in a certain amount of dialectal admixture.

Of the eleven bands making up the Colville Confederated Tribes, six are of Salishan linguistic stock: Methow, Okanogan, San Poil, Lake, Colville-Nespelem, and Moses;[3] the remainder speak a Sahaptian language, Nez Perce. Although these are the official names of the bands, residents of the Reservation distinguish themselves sharply from the Okanogans, their Canadian kinsmen, and from the Moses (speakers of a distinct language, Columbian). Within the Colville proper they distinguish between the 'North-Half Colvilles' and the 'South-Half Colvilles', the latter subdivided into the Nespelem and the San Poil. Differences between the northern (Okanogan and Lake) dialects, and the southern (Colville), are not easily assessed, partly because of the high incidence of movements within the Colville speaking territory. Aside from a few lexical items, reported by

Colvilles to differ between geographical areas, noteworthy is the absence in Colville of a phonemic voiced front velar fricative found in the northern dialects.

The number of speakers of Colville cannot be estimated to exceed a few hundred--all middle-aged to elderly speakers. It seems certain now that in a few years the language will no longer be heard spoken by residents of the Reservation. The situation is less desperate in British Columbia, where Okanogan children are reported to be fluent in the language.

Earlier work on the Colville and Okanogan peoples has included very little with linguistic focus. The most common studies are ethnographic in nature--e.g. the report by Hill-Tout (1911) on the Okanogans, and the very important work by Ray that resulted in a book (1932) on the Southern Colvilles. Tales in English translations were also collected. Gould, Ray, Teit, Mourning Dove and a few others recorded some materials, all prior to 1933. There is also the undated translation in Okanogan of a catechism and a missal by Fr. De Rougé. In the archives of Gonzaga University I have found a few manuscript pages of notes of linguistic nature, some by Fr. Collins, and some anonymous. The latter include the transcription in syllabic script of a prayer and some paradigmatic material.

Important work has been, and is now being done, on related languages. A summary of past and on-going research is found in Thompson (in press); here it will suffice to mention the availability of grammars of Coeur d'Alene (Reichard), Kalispel (Vogt), and, most recently, Spokan (Carlson), in addition to the comparative works of Reichard, Vogt, and Kinkade and Sloat.

I began my research on Colville in the summer of 1968 under the auspices of the National Science Foundation and the direction of Professor L.C. Thompson. Since then I have spent four summers in the town of Inchelium, Washington, gathering materials for my analysis. My first contact with Colville amounted to a few brief sessions with Mrs. Sophie Bailey McDonald (now deceased), originally from Marcus, Washington; and with Mrs. Mary Quintasket Lemery of Inchelium; they were followed by more substantial work with Mrs. Helen Perkins Toulou, originally of Ford, Washington (now deceased). My main source for narrative tales has been Mr. Pete Seymour, originally from Marcus, Washington. In terms of quantity and quality his aid has proved of immense value. I have also obtained excellent narrative materials from Mrs. Dora DeSautel, originally from Oroville, Washington, and conversational materials from Mrs. Cecilia Andrews, Mr. George Quintasket, Mrs. Mary Ensminger, Mrs. Dora DeSautel and Mrs. Helen Toulou. My main informant has been Mrs. Madeline Saint Paul DeSautel, originally from St. Paul's Mission, Washington, who helped patiently and very effectively with the transcriptions and analysis of the texts.

Footnotes

[1] Spelled Okanagan in Canada.

[2] For further details on the classification of Salishan languages, cf. Thompson (in press).

[3] Members of the Methow, San Poil and Colville-Nespelem bands all speak the same dialect, Colville. However, for the members of each band these terms are synonymous with the dialect they speak.

2. Phonology

Colville exhibits a rich consonantal system that distinguishes five manners and nine points of articulation. The vocalic system includes four phonemes. There are also three levels of stress and a system of intonational contours.

2.1. The consonantal system. Colville stops and resonants pattern in a plain and a glottalized series; all stops are voiceless, and all resonants voiced; the principal allophones of the spirants are voiceless. Each of the five manners of articulation is represented in the velar and post-velar positions, rounded and unrounded; the glottal position is represented by the glottal stop and h. A voiceless plain lateral affricate is lacking in the system, thus leaving a gap in that position; the bilabial position lacks a spirant. Finally, the apical complex includes two sets: the dental, represented by stops and nasal resonants; and the alveolar, represented by affricates and liquid resonants. The only apical spirant is s.

p̓	t̓		c̓	ƛ̓	k̓	k̓ʷ	q̓	q̓ʷ	ʔ
p	t		c		k	kʷ	q	qʷ	
		s		ł	x	xʷ	x̣	x̣ʷ	h
m̓	n̓		r̓	l̓	y̓	w̓	ʕ̓	ʕ̓ʷ	
m	n		r	l	y	w	ʕ	ʕʷ	

2.11. Stops. The glottalized stops are fortis (strongly articulated), and, as a rule, they can be easily distinguished from their plain counterparts. Affricates pattern as stops. Plain stops are aspirated and released finally (a feature that Colville speakers carry over into English), while they are unreleased immediately preceding a homorganic nasal. The underlying sequences //pm// and //tn// each have two phonetic realizations: [p⁼ʔm̩] and [t⁼ʔn̩]; and [pəm] and [tən]. [pəm] and [tən] are the careful, formal pronunciations, while [p⁼ʔm̩] and [t⁼ʔn̩] occur in ordinary speech (cf. also section 2.44). The plain alveolar affricate, but not its glottalized counterpart, has a palatalized allophone [č] in free variation with the norm [c].

2.12. Spirants. All spirants except h can occur voiced intervocalically. In fact, it is sometimes hard to identify the lateral spirant correctly, because the voiced lateral spirant resembles the lateral resonant so closely. h is quite rare and, as with ʔ, it can often be lost in rapid speech, especially in word initial position (h does not occur word-finally).

2.13. Resonants. The resonants occur glottalized (often phonetically laryngealized) and plain, parallel to the glottalization of the stops. However, it may eventually be established that the glottalized resonants should be interpreted as sequences of resonant plus glottal stop. Glottalized resonants are quite uncommon in initial position.

With the pharyngeal resonants one is faced with grave problems of recognition. The phonetic reality presents vowels with pharyngeal constriction. This constriction is somewhat greater at the beginning or at the end of the syllabic segment, and the phenomena seem best interpreted as sequences of vowels and pharyngeal non-syllabics. In terms of the system these fit logically with post-velar obstruents, supplying otherwise missing resonants in these columns. Their presence introduces a number of contrasts that are extremely difficult for the non-native to perceive: ʕ:ʕ̓; ʕ̓:ʔ; ʕ^{w}:w; ʕ̓^{w}:w̓.

In connection with some current hypotheses about marked sequences, it is worth noting that /n/ does not assimilate to a following velar (see Chomsky and Halle, _The Sound Pattern of English_, especially p. 419).

2.2. The vocalic system. The vowels of Colville are /i/, /a/, /u/, and /ə/.

2.21. Full vs. reduced vowels. The term *full vowel* distinguishes /i/, /a/, and /u/, on the one hand, from /ə/, on the other. Full vowels (*i*, *a*, *u*) can occur stressed or unstressed, while *ə* does not occur stressed. We recognize two functionally (not qualitatively) different types of schwa: the first is systematic--a number of forms require its use in their underlying representations; the second is epenthetic--schwa is inserted by rule.

2.22. Allophonic range of vowels.

2.221. Schwa. The phonetic reality of schwa is determined by phonetic environment. It is [U˂] in the neighborhood of rounded consonants:

[U˂] məq̇ʷəmáq̓ʷ. 'They are mountains.'

It is [əˇ] in the neighborhood of post-velar and glottal (henceforth 'back') consonants (unrounded):

[əˇ] qáqəna. 'She's the grandmother.'

It ranges from [I˃] to [Ɨ] contiguous to labial and alveolar consonants:

[I˃] ~ [Ɨ] sípən. 'She's the daughter-in-law.'

It is [ə] elsewhere:

[ə] skəkʕáka?. 'It's a chicken.'

2.222. /i/ ranges from [i] down to [e^], in free variation,

[i] ~ [e^] kiláwna?. 'It's a lion.'
k̓ík̓ət. 'It's near.'

But it has a transition [ᵊ] glide before or after post-velars.

[ᵊI˘] x̣íl. 'He's scared.'[1]

[I˘ᵊ] píq. 'It's white.'

2.223. /u/ ranges freely from [u] down to [o],

[u] ~ [o] lút. 'It is not.'

But it is usually [c] contiguous to a post-velar:

[c] sq̓ʷúɬ. 'It's a yellow jacket.'

In addition, /u/ has a rare allophone [ᵊU] or [ᵊu] after unrounded (post)velar obstruents. These occurrences are all word-internal, at morpheme junctures, and prevent the neutralization of unrounded and rounded (post)velars before /u/.

//ɬ-p̓lk̓-ús-m// ɬp̓əlk̓úsəm [ɬp̓ᵻlk̓ᵊúsᵻm]. 'They turned back.'

2.224. /a/ ranges from [æ] after y (less noticeably fronted after other non-back consonants), [æ] myáɬ 'It is too much ...'

to [ɑ] contiguous to back consonants:

[ɑ] spʕás. 'It's a nighthawk.'

sx̣áx̣aʔ. 'He's the father-in-law.'

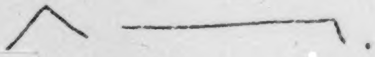
It ranges from [a] to [ɑ] elsewhere.

[a] k̓ást. 'It's bad.'

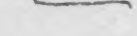
2.3. Stress and intonation. I have recognized three distinctive degrees of stress in Colville; primary /´/, secondary /`/, and weak (unmarked). No word contains more than one primary stress. However, polysyllabic words sometimes contain a secondary stress. Other syllables have weak stress. Over a whole utterance stresses interacting with intonation may shift, but no systematic study of these phenomena has as yet been possible.

Intonation has not been studied in detail, but certain basic generalizations can be made about the most common types of intonational contours.

One type occurs in connection with declarative sentences. They usually have medium pitch throughout, with slight ups and downs, falling sharply at the end. Certain restricted words (see 4.5) in sentence initial position are accompanied by a rising-falling pitch. Thus the intonational contour of the sentence can be represented as



This same type of contour characterizes imperative sentences.

Another type of pitch contour is that which marks interrogative sentences. It can be represented as 
and it will be discussed further in 4.41.

Noteworthy is a striking feature of conversational and narrative Colville (shared by all Salishan languages).

It is a phenomenon manifested in extra vowel length, together with a sharp rise in pitch, often going into falsetto voice; it achieves the stylistic effect of emphasis. The falsetto vowel is sometimes sustained for as long as three or four seconds.

2.4. Morphophonemics. Colville words are of two types (cf. 4.1): *independent words*, and *proclitic particles*. Independent words consist of a base and optional affixes; proclitic particles occur only with a following independent word, and do not undergo inflectional affixation.

Morphophonemic changes affect particles, prefixes, roots, infixes, and suffixes. Changes involving particles, infixes and prefixes do not depend on rules of stress placement; changes involving roots and suffixes, on the other hand, depend on such rules. General morphophonemic changes are discussed hereP, other changes in section 2.5. Except where they are specifically exemplified, word boundary morphophonemic changes are not reflected in the broad phonetic surface transcriptions.

2.41. Apocope. In the normal flow of speech (but not in careful citations) a word-final glottal stop is lost before a word beginning in glottal stop.

//ʔix-íʔ ʔáyxʷ-t// ʔixí ʔáyxʷt. 'That one is tired.'

2.42. Insertion of glottal stop. A glottal stop is automatically inserted before word-initial vowels after pause.

//incáʔ// incáʔ. [ʔincáʔ] 'It is I.'

2.43. Schwa-epenthesis. An automatic *ə* is inserted in certain phonological environments, as defined below.

2.431. Epenthesis between two identical obstruents.

//mnímɬ-tt// mənímɬtət. 'We're the ones.'
//x̣-x̣n̓út// x̣əx̣ən̓út. 'They are nine.'
//p-píwt// pəpíwt. 'It's lightweight.'

2.432. Epenthesis between a stop and its glottalized counterpart.[2]

//lút t̓ic̓// lut t̓íc̓. [lutət̓íc̓] 'It isn't pitch.'
//piq q̓ay-m-í-n// piq q̓əymín. [pɪᵊqəq̓əymín] 'It's a white pencil.'

2.433. Epenthesis between a glottalized consonant and a following consonant.

//t̓xʷ// t̓əxʷ 'indeed'
//k̓m// k̓əm 'except'
//k-c̓íl̓-(ú)laxʷ// kc̓íl̓əlaxʷ. 'It's shade.'

2.434. Epenthesis between a consonant and a following glottal stop.

//s-tʔíw-t-xx// stəʔíwtx. 'He's the youngest one.'
//xʷʔít// xʷəʔít. 'They are many.'

2.435. Epenthesis between an unrounded (post)velar and a following //w// at morpheme boundary (for a related phenomenon cf. 2.223).

//k-wík-n-t// kəwíkənt! 'Find out!'

//s-t̓aʔk̓míx-wílx// st̓aʔk̓əmxəwílx. 'She is becoming a woman.'

2.436. Epenthesis rules apply to proclitic particles, across word boundaries.

//t anwíʔ// t anwíʔ [tanwíʔ] 'by you'

//t tapit// t tapít [tətapít] 'by David'

2.44. Syllabicity of resonants. In cases involving resonants, ə insertion is closely related to syllabicity.

2.441. A schwa is inserted between a consonant and a following resonant (R) if the R, in its turn, is not followed by a full vowel.

//sípn// sípən. 'She's the daughter-in-law.'

//kn// kən 'I'

//lm-lim-s-t-sút// lmlmstsút (unstressed vowel deletion; cf. 2.541)

ləmələmscút. 'He is glad.'

//tar̓-m-í-sút// tr̓míst (unstressed vowel deletion; 2.541)

tər̓əmíst. 'It unraveled.'

2.442. A schwa is inserted between an initial R and a following consonant.

//mɬ// məɬ 'and, subordinate'

//mník// məník. 'It's excrement.'

//lkapíʔ// ləkapíʔ. 'It's coffee.'

2.443. All sequences əR (or Rə) vary freely with R̩ (syllabic resonants). For the sake of uniformity ə will be written consistently in the broad phonetic transcriptions.

2.444. The resonants y and w are related to the vowels i and u, respectively. Sequences V́R or RV́ when unstressed become əR and Rə; if R is y or w, then əy and yə vary freely with i, and əw and wə vary freely with u; analogously əy̓ varies with iʔ, y̓ə varies with ʔi; əw̓ varies with uʔ, w̓ə varies with ʔu.

//əc-miy-s-t-(í)n// cməystín ~ cmistín. 'I know it.'

//q̓ay̓-m-í-n// q̓əy̓əmín ~ q̓iʔmín. 'It's a writing implement.'

//sw̓-síw̓-n-t-(í)xʷ// səw̓əsíw̓əntxʷ ~ suʔsíw̓əntxʷ. 'You questioned him.'

Sometimes, however, the morphophonemics involved are not evident and the representation of an underlying form, in the absence of grammatical motivation, remains arbitrary. Thus [ʔilmíxʷəm] 'he is the chief' can be represented //ʔilmíxʷm// or //y̓lmíxʷm//.

2.445. Two identical resonants in a sequence are simplified:

//kn n-st-(í)ls// kən nəstíls. [kənəstíls] 'I think.'

whiles two dissimilar ones insert a ə between them:

//kn mút// kən mut. [kənəmút] 'I sit.'

//mlqn-(ú)ps// məlqnúps. 'It's an eagle.'

2.5. Other morphophonemic changes. This section treats morphophonemic changes connected with particles, affixes, and roots.

2.51. Changes connected with particles.

2.511. Vowel apocope. The vowel of the particle //t̓i// 'evidential' (4.221) is obligatorily lost before words beginning with a vowel.

//t̓i an-s-t̓mkʔ-ílt// t̓i ast̓əmkəʔílt. [t̓ast̓əmkəʔílt] 'As you can see, it's your daughter.'

It is optionally lost before words beginning with a consonant, in which case the ə-epenthesis rules apply.

//t̓i pus// t̓i pús ~ t̓ pús [t̓əpús]. 'As you can see, it's a cat.'

2.512. Vowel dissimilation.

(a) The vowels of the particles //y̓i// 'definite' (4.321), and //t̓i// 'evidential' (4.221) dissimilate to a immediately preceding words the first (non-initial) full vowel of which is i.

//y̓i y̓lmíxʷm// y̓i y̓əlmíxʷəm [y̓aʔilmíxʷəm] 'the chief ...'

//t̓i əc-miy-s-t-(í)n// t̓i cməystín [t̓acmistín]. 'As you can see, I know it.'

(b) a similar rule of vowel change applies to the particles

//l//, //t//, //tl//, //k̓//, //k̓l// (4.32) after epenthesis rules have applied: schwa becomes [a] immediately before words the first (non-initial) full vowel of which is *i*.

//l ʔkín// lə ʔkín
la ʔkín. 'where is it?'

//t ʔilíkʷlk-x(á)n// tə ʔilíkʷəlkxən.
ta ʔilíkʷəlkxən 'by Ramhorn ...'

//tl ʔkín// tələ ʔkín
təla ʔkín. 'where is it from?'

Contrast the last derivation with one involving a word-initial *i*:

//tl in-s-k̓íwl-xx// təl isk̓íwəlx 'because I am old ...'

//k̓ y̓lmíxʷm// k̓ə y̓əlmíxʷəm
k̓a y̓əlmíxʷəm ~ k̓a ʔilmíxʷəm 'to the chief'

//k̓l ʔkín// k̓ələ ʔkín
k̓əla ʔkín 'where to?'

Contrast this last derivation with one not involving the epenthesis of *ə* before a glottal stop:

//k̓l cítxʷ-tt// k̓əl cítxʷtət 'to our house ...'

2.52. Changes affecting prefixes. Prefixes are never stressed. (For an apparent exception, cf. section 3.2112.)

2.521. Decapitation. ə of the prefix //əc-// 'actual' (3.373) is optionally lost when sentence initial; it is obligatorily lost when word internal. If //əc-// retains its initial ə after pause, a glottal stop is automatically inserted before it.

//əc-xʷúy̓// cxʷúy̓. ~ ʔəcxʷúy̓. 'He has actually gone.'
//s-əc-xʷúy̓-x// scxʷúy̓əx. 'He is actually going.'

2.522. Consonant fusion. The consonant of //əc-// 'actual' (3.373), //c-// 'cislocative' (3.241), and //k-// 'numeral classifier' (3.42) combine with a following glottal stop to yield əc̓-, c̓-, and k̓-, respectively.

//əc-ʔácqaʔ// c̓ácqaʔ. ~ ʔəc̓ácqaʔ. 'He has actually gone out.'
//əc-c-ʔácqaʔ// cəc̓ácqaʔ. ~ ʔəcəc̓ácqaʔ. 'He has actually come out.'
//k-ʔs-ʔasíl// k̓əsəʔasíl. 'There are two of them.'

Presumably the same rule applies to //k-// 'directive' (3.242), but no examples in the material establish this.

2.523. Consonant dissimilation. //k-// 'directive' (3.242) and //k-// 'numeral classifier' (3.42) dissimilate to //t-// before a following velar.

//k-kíc// tkíc. 'He met (someone).' (kíc 'reach')

//k-xwil// txwíl. 'He came along.' (xwíl 'road')

//k-kaʔ-kaʔłís// tkaʔkaʔłís. 'There are three people.' (kaʔłís 'three')

2.524. Consonant loss.

(a) *n* of the absolutive pronouns //in-// 'my', and //an-// 'yours sg.' (3.112), is lost before *s*; and before the prefix //kł-// 'unrealized aspect' (3.371);

//in-s-xʷúy̓-t-n// isxʷúy̓ətən. 'They are my tracks.'

//an-kł-tkłmílxʷ// akłtkłmílxʷ. 'She is your wife to be.'

//an-sipn// asípən. 'She is your sister-in-law.'

(b) *ł* of //kł-// 'possessive' (3.384), and of //kł-// 'unrealized aspect' (3.371), is lost before *s*.

//kł-s-tałm// kstáłəm. 'He has a boat.'

//kł-s-talm-s// kstáłəms. 'It's going to be his boat.'

2.525. Changes in reduplicative prefixes.

(a) Underlying pharyngeals of reduplicative prefixes vocalize to *a*.

//cʕ-cʕay-p-m// cacʕáypəm. 'He cried out loudly.'

//s-n-ʕc-ʕac-(í)naʔ-s// snacʕacínaʔs. 'They are her earrings.'

(b) No reduplicated root initial consonant remains glottalized, except /ƛ̓/.

//t̓n-t̓ínaʔ// tənt̓ínaʔ. 'They are ears.'
//p̓n-p̓ínaʔ// pənp̓ínaʔ. 'They are baskets.'
//ƛ̓ʔ-ƛ̓aʔkʷílx// ƛ̓əʔƛ̓aʔkʷílx. 'They are medicine men.'

(c) Non-initial //ƛ̓// of a reduplicative prefix is replaced by [t], which functions as its plain counterpart.

//s-k̲ʷ̲ƛ̲̓-(ú)s// skʷƛ̓ús. 'It's an eye.'
//s-kʷƛ̓-k̲ʷ̲ƛ̲̓-(ú)s// skʷtkʷƛ̓ús. 'They are eyes.'

For further discussion of reduplicative affixes see 3.21.

2.53. Changes affecting roots. This section briefly handles certain morphophonemic changes that are peculiar to a few roots. (Root reduplication is more properly affixation and is treated in section 3.21)

2.531. The root //mut// 'sit' loses its t̲ before another t̲.

//s-n-kɬ-mut-t-n// sənkɬmútən. 'It's a chair.'

2.532. Root-final s̲ of //yx̣ís// 'drive deer' is lost before //-x(í)-// 'benefactive' (3.13).

//yx̣ís-x(í)-t-(ú)m-(í)n// yəx̣íxtəmən. 'I drive the deer to you.' (Cf. //kn kɬ-s-yx̣ís-x-aʔ-x// kən ksəyx̣ísaʔx. 'I am about to drive deer.')

2.533. Roots that have never been recorded stressed are represented without vowel in their underlying forms (but cf. 2.543), and they are underlined.

//*k̓l*// 'wait'

2.54. Changes involved in suffixes.

2.541. Stress placement. Morphophonemic changes in suffixes are affected by stress placement. In words containing suffixes, stress falls sometimes on the root, sometimes on one of the suffixes.

Suffixes are of three kinds: *inherently stressed suffixes* which always take the stress from a root; *variable stress suffixes*, with stressed and unstressed forms; and *unstressed suffixes*. These last never occur with primary stress, but some contain a full vowel which is never deleted. Variable stress suffixes receive stress unless it is automatically placed on the root or on a cooccurring inherently stressed suffix. When variable stress suffixes occur unstressed, their vowel is deleted, at which time the general morphophonemic rules of ə-epenthesis may apply. The vowel of an inherently stressed suffix may also be deleted if another inherently stressed suffix precedes in the word.

Inherently stressed suffixes are marked with primary stress in morphophonemic notation (e.g. //-sút//); unstressed suffixes have their vowel unmarked (e.g. //-wiʔ//); variable stress suffixes have their vowel parenthesized and marked with stress (e.g. //-(í)xʷ//).

Roots are of two types: stress retentive roots, which receive primary stress unless an inherently stressed suffix is present; and stress shifting roots, which lose their stress to both inherently stressed and variable stress suffixes. Stress falls on the root if there is no suffix present which takes the stress.

When roots occur unstressed they usually lose their vowel, with some exceptions noted below. Stress retentive roots are marked with primary stress in morphophonemic notation (e.g. //xʷúy̓//); stress shifting roots have their vowel unmarked (e.g. //k̇ar//). Except in cases of full reduplication, the reader will have no difficulty identifying the root: it follows any prefixes--none of which have the shape CVC(C) typical of roots (vowelless roots are underlined; cf. 2.533).

The following general rules apply to all suffixes, including lexical suffixes:

1. stress is placed on the inherently stressed suffix closest to the root;

2. if no inherently stressed suffixes are present, then

(a) stress will be placed on the root if it is stress retentive,

(b) if the root is stress shifting, stress will be placed on the variable stress suffix closest to the root.

3. If no variable stress suffix is present, then it is placed on the root.

Stress retentive roots occur stressed with variable stress suffixes:

//xʷúk// 'pull out'
//xʷúk-n-t-(í)xʷ// xʷúkəntxʷ. 'You pull it out.'

//k̓ʷúl̓// 'make, do'
//k̓ʷúl̓-s-t-(í)s// k̓ʷúl̓əsc. 'He fixes it.'

Stress retentive roots lose their stress (and their vowel) when an inherently stressed suffix is added:

//-nú// 'success'
//xʷúk-nú-n-t-(í)xʷ// xʷknúntxʷ. 'You managed to pull it out.'

//-sút// 'reflexive'
//s-k̓ʷúl̓-c(í)n-sút-s// sk̓ʷəl̓əcəncúc. 'It's his cooking.'
(-c(í)n 'mouth')

Stress shifting roots lose their stress if either inherently stressed or variable stress suffixes follow:

//x̣as// 'good'
//x̣as-t-wílx// x̣stwílx. 'He gets better.'

//ɬaxʷ// 'hanging, loose'
//ɬaxʷ-p-n-t-(í)n// ɬxʷpəntín. 'I let it hang, put it up.'

Additional examples of stress placement rules:

//kn kɬ-s-k̓ʷúl̓-(í)kst-m-í-sút-x-aʔ-x// kən ksk̓ʷəl̓əkstmístaʔx. 'I am about to fix myself up.' (I unrealized-absolute mode-make-hand-middle-secondary-self-inchoative)

//kn n-x̣as-(á)qs(t)-x(á)n// kən nx̣sáqstxən. 'I have a good hip.' (I locative-good-rear-legs)

//t̓áqʷ-p-q(í)n-n-t-(í)m// t̓qʷápqəntəm. 'Someone was slapped on the head.' (slap-noncontrol-head-active-transitive-indefinite; cf. 2.543)

//kʷu n-x̣as-t-(í)ls-m-í-sút// kʷu nx̣stəlsmíst. 'Our feelings will be settled.' (we locative-good-stative-desiderative-middle-secondary-reflexive)

Although most roots are either stress retentive or stress shifting, there is at least some controversial--if not contradictory--evidence. The root //miy// 'know' is sometimes stress shifting:

//miy-s-t-(í)n// məystín (~ mistín). 'I know it.'

and sometimes stress retentive:

//míy-s-t-(í)n// místən. 'I know it, I am sure of it.'

The difference in glosses may well reflect a basic grammatical process; however, the evidence at hand does not warrant any conclusive statement.

2.542. Unstressed roots with full vowels. It has been stated as a general rule that root vowels are deleted when unstressed. Some roots, however, retain an unstressed full vowel. Often such root vowels are contiguous to a pharyngeal or laryngeal consonant; it is also intriguing to note that some forms (not all) that retain a full unstressed vowel also contain the suffix //-í-// 'secondary' (3.141). It has not been possible to formulate rules predicting the retention of full unstressed vowels. Pertinent examples and related discussion are in sections 3.131 and 3.33; additional examples are provided here.

//kɬ-s-kʕaw-m-í-s-t-(í)m// kskʕawmístəm. 'Someone is going to be hired.'

//s-əc-ʕ̓aw̓-p-m-í-xx// scʕ̓aw̓əpmíx. 'It's drooping.'

Note, however, that some roots, which phonetically may contain an unstressed full vowel, have an unambiguous underlying representation (cf. 2.444), and can be interpreted as containing no full root vowel.

//síw̓// 'ask'
//n-síw̓-c(í)n-m-í-sút// nəsəw̓əcənmíst ~ nəsuˀcənmíst.
'He proposed in marriage.'

//w̓t// 'take out'
//əc-w̓t-n-t-(í)s// cəw̓ətəntís ~ cuˀtəntís. 'He took it out.'

2.543. Metathesized roots. There are certain roots which, before the suffixes //-p// 'non-control', //-m// 'middle', and //-n-t//, //-n-t-iˀ// 'imperative',
(a) metathesize their vowel with C_2
(b) insert a between C_1 and C_2 if either is a pharyngeal or laryngeal consonant.
ə-epenthesis rules apply regularly thereafter.

All of the roots for which there is a vowel attested, contain [a] as the vowel; all of the roots which are attested only in their derived form, also contain [a]. It is therefore inferred that the root vowel is [a].

List of forms with attested root vowel [a]:

//kam̓-m// kəm̓ám. 'He took a lot.'

//taʔ-m// taʔám. 'He pounds.'

//q̓ay̓-m// q̓əy̓ám. 'He writes.'

//caʔ-p// caʔáp. 'He's hit.'

//s-x̣al-p// sx̣láp. 'It's tomorrow.'

//c̓axʷ-m// c̓əxʷám. 'He pours in.'

//psaʕ-p// psʕáp. 'He guessed.'

List of forms without an attested root vowel:

//k̓ar-m// k̓əräm. 'He cuts.'

//k̓ar-n-t// k̓əránt! 'Cut it!'

//ƛ̓aʔ-m// ƛ̓aʔám. 'He is searching.'

//ƛ̓aʔ-n-t// ƛ̓aʔánt! 'Look for it!'

//ʕal-p// ʕaláp. 'He lost, gambling.'

//ƛ̓ax̣-p// ƛ̓əx̣áp. 'He grows.'

//ɬaxʷ-p// ɬxʷáp. 'It got away.'

//k̓ʷaʔ-m// k̓ʷaʔám. 'He bites.'

//kax-m// kxám. 'He walks along.'

//xʷar-p// xʷráp. 'He is shaking '

//k̓ʷas-p// k̓ʷəsáp. 'It scorches.'

//ʕam-p// ʕamáp. 'It's wet.'

//ham-p// hamáp. 'It's damp.'

//taķʷ-p// tkʷáp. 'It smothers.'

//ɬax̣ʷ-m// ɬx̣ʷám. 'It makes a hole.'

//paq̓-m// pq̓ám. 'It glues.'

//t̓ay-m// t̓əyám. 'He balks.'
//q̓aw-m// q̓əwám. 'He cracks.'
//xaƛ̓-p// xƛ̓áp. 'He is beaten.'
//kʷaƛ̓-p// kʷƛ̓áp. 'He comes in sight.'
//xʷac̓-m// xʷc̓ám. 'It breaks.'
//sl̓ak-m// səl̓əkám. 'He twists.'
//tˤap-m// tˤapám. 'He shoots.'
//ƛ̓al-p// ƛ̓əláp. 'He stops.'
//cakʷ-n-t// ckʷánt! 'Pull it!'

Cf. also the following:
//c̓ak̓ʷ-p// c̓ək̓ʷáp. 'It feels stiff.' (Cf. c̓ák̓ʷət.
'It's stiff.'; c̓úk̓ʷət. 'It's stiff.')
And the irregular formation
//ʔam(n)-n-t// ʔamnánt! 'Feed him!' (Cf. ʔamtín. 'I
feed him.')

Roots with i (presumably also those with u) are not found to undergo metathesis.

//c̓iqʷ-m// c̓íqʷəm. 'He butchers.'
//k̓ip̓-m// k̓íp̓əm. 'He pinches.'
//q̓it̓-m// q̓ít̓əm. 'He hooks rugs.'
//sʔiy-m// səʔílyəm. 'He weaves grass mats.'

One root has been recorded with i metathesizing in a similar way with C_2:
//kʷin-m// kʷním. 'He takes.'

However, other roots in i do not exhibit such forms.

2.544. s-affrication. //-s// 'third person absolutive pronoun' dissimilates to c following another [s] or [ɬ].

//s-pʔús-s// spəʔúsc. 'It's his wish.'
//páckɬ-s// páckɬc. 'It's his leaf.'

2.545. t- and n-deletion.

(a) //-t// 'transitive' is deleted between n and homorganic consonants;

(b) //-n// 'active' (or stem-final n) is deleted before all s's, except //-s// 'third person absolutive pronoun' (cf. 2.524);

//cú-n-t-(í)n// cún. 'I told him.'
cú-n-t-in (stress assignment)
cú-n-t-n (unstressed vowel deletion)
cú-n-n (t-deletion)
cún (resonant simplification)

//ʔaw-ʔaw-c(í)n-n-t-(í)s-lx// ʔawəʔawcísəlx. 'They went to ask it.'
ʔaw-ʔaw-cín-n-t-is-lx (stress assignment)
ʔaw-ʔaw-cín-n-t-s-lx (vowel deletion)
ʔaw-ʔaw-cín-n-s-lx (t-deletion)
ʔaw-ʔaw-cín-s-lx (resonant simplification)
ʔaw-ʔaw-cí-s-lx (n-deletion)

ʔawəʔawcísəlx (ə-epenthesis)
Note that the resonant simplification rule has to apply before the n-deletion rule.

Note further that the n-deletion rule before *s* is a general rule of Colville--an analogous rule applies to the absolutive pronouns, 1st and 2nd sg. forms (cf. 2.524). *n*, however, is *not* lost before //-s// '3rd sg. absolutive pronoun':

//s-xʷúy̓-t-n-s// sxʷúy̓ətəns. 'They are his tracks.'

Note, finally, that *-s* (unstressed form of //-(í)s// '3rd transitive') does not dissimilate to *c* after stem final *s* (it is recalled that //-s// '3rd absolutive' becomes *c* after *s*; cf. 2.544). One may wish to speak of a general dissimilation rule, and invoke a different rule ordering to derive the correct surface forms (e.g., ə-epenthesis precedes n-deletion). In any case, the morphophonemic behavior of //-s// 'absolutive' and //-(í)s// 'transitive' is different. Thus,

//ʔáq̓ʷ-(ú)s-n-t-(í)s// ʔáq̓ʷəsəs. 'He shaved him.'

2.546. x-deletion. The first *x* of //-xx// 'progressive' is always deleted, except in inchoative forms directly after the secondary suffix //-í-//

//kł-s-ʕ̓aw̓-p-m-í-x-aʔ-x// ksʕ̓aw̓əpmíxaʔx. 'It's about to begin drooping.' (//-aʔ-// 'inchoative'; cf. 3.39)

Footnotes

[1] Gender is not a marked category in Colville. Throughout this study 'he' is a cover term for a generic third person.

[2] Exception to this rule is the deletion of t of the negative lút before the evidential predicative particle t̓i. //lut t̓i in-s-əc-wík// lut t̓i iscwík [lut̓iscwík]. 'I didn't see him.' (Cf. 2.521.)

3. Morphology

Colville independent words consist of a base and optional affixes. A base may be simple, extended, or compound. A simple base is one that consists of a simple root, or a root with a primary suffix (3.113); an extended base consists of a root and one or more lexical affixes (3.25); a compound base (3.4) consists of more than one root.

3.1 Transitive and intransitive bases.

Bases are of two main types: transitive bases are marked by a transitive suffix; other bases are intransitive.

Roots underlie bases. Certain roots tend to appear only as transitive bases, others only as intransitive bases. Most roots, however, can appear as either transitive or intransitive bases.

All intransitive bases may receive the middle suffix //-m// and the resulting stems are labelled middle stems.

The middle suffix //-m//, the transitive suffix //-t//, and the unmarked intransitive, define the Colville referent-focus system, discussed in the following sections and summarized in 3.16.

3.11. Bases in their uninflected state are intransitive.

xʷúy̓. 'He goes.'
t̓íɬ. 'He is grimy.'
pús. 'It's a cat.'

3.111. Personal reference with intransitive bases is marked by means of the *primary reference pronouns*, a set composed of four proclitic particles,

//kn// kən '1st sg.'
//kʷ// kʷ '2nd sg.'
//kʷu// kʷu '1st pl.'
//p// p '2nd pl.'

and one suffix,

//-lx// -(ə)lx '3rd pl.'[1] (Cf. examples in 3.11 above.)

Third person singular forms are unmarked.

kən xʷúy̓. 'I go.'
kʷ t̓íɬ. 'You are grimy.'
xʷúy̓əlx. 'They go.'

3.112. Personal reference with intransitive bases may also be marked by means of the *absolutive pronouns*, a set consisting of two prefixes and four suffixes,

//in-//	in-	'1st sg.'
//an-//	an-	'2nd sg.'
//-s//	-s	'3rd sg.'
//-tt//	-tət	'1st pl.'
//-mp//	-(ə)mp	'2nd pl.'
//-s-lx//	-səlx	'3rd pl.'

attached directly to the base as in

inpús. 'It's my cat.'

Absolutive pronouns cooccur with the *absolute mode prefix* //s-// (hereafter glossed 'absolute'; cf. 3.32) in intransitive bases, as in the following examples:

//in-s-xʷúy̓// isxʷúy̓. 'I go; it is my going.'

//in-s-t̓íɬ// ist̓íɬ. 'I am grimy.'

Absolutive pronouns may also cooccur with the unrealized aspect prefix //kɬ-// (3.371).

//in-kɬ-tkɬmílxʷ// ikɬtkɬmílxʷ. 'She is my wife to be.'
(tkɬmílxʷ 'woman, wife').

//kɬ-//, in turn, may cooccur with //s-// 'absolute', and, in that case, pronominal reference is marked by means of the primary reference pronouns (Cf. example 3.371c).

3.113. Intransitive bases may add the primary suffix //-p// indicating lack of control on the part of the primary referent.

cáˀ. 'He is hit.'
caˀáp. 'He is hit, and can't help it.'
kən caˀáp. 'I am hit, and can't help it.'

//-p// is called a primary suffix because it is attached immediately to the base, before any eventual lexical suffix.

caˀápqən. 'He is hit on the head.' (//-q(í)n// 'head')

3.114. Intransitive bases may add the primary suffix //-m-//. This suffix is not common, and its function is not entirely clear. It seems to narrow the semantic import of the root to which it is suffixed, to its most natural property. Whenever a segment m̲ occurs word-finally, it is always possible and desirable to analyze it as the middle suffix //-m// (cf. section 3.12). There are two other suffixes, //-(í)m// '1st pl. transitive' (cf. section 3.131), and //-(í)m// '3rd indefinite recipient' (3.132), that, unstressed, are realized as [-m]. However, they are affixed to transitive stems.

In sum, it is preferable not to identify the suffix under discussion with //-m// 'middle', even though the two may ultimately be related.

//x̣íƛ̓// (intransitive root) 'go up'
//x̣íƛ̓-x(á)n// x̣íƛ̓əxən. 'They are trousers.' (//-x(á)n// 'legs')
//x̣íƛ̓-m-ús// x̣ƛ̓əmús. 'It's an incline.' (//-ús// 'surface'; not the same suffix as //-(ú)s// 'fire' or //-(ú)s// 'face')
//x̣íƛ̓-m// x̣íƛ̓əm. 'He goes uphill' (middle).

//k̓ar// (intransitive root) 'swim'
//k̓ar-n-t-(í)n// (transitive form) k̓ərəntín. 'I take it somewhere swimming.' (//-n// 'active'; //-t// 'transitive'; //-(í)n// '1st sg. transitive')
//k̓ar-m-íw̓s// k̓ərmíw̓əs. 'It's a (good) place to cross swimming.' (//-íw̓s// 'middle')
//k̓ar-m// k̓ərám. 'He swims' (middle).

3.115. Intransitive bases may also add the suffix //-t// 'stative'. Unlike //-p// and //-m//, it cannot appear before a lexical suffix.

//x̣as// 'good'

//x̣as-t// x̣ást. 'It's good.'

//x̣as-t-wílx// x̣stwílx. 'He is healing.' (//-wílx// 'developmental')

//s-əc-x̣as-(í)kst-m-s// scx̣síkstəms. 'He is good at fixing things.' (//s-// 'absolute mode'; //əc-// 'actual aspect'; //-(í)kst// 'hands'; //m-// 'middle'; //-s// '3rd sg. absolutive pronoun')

Many intransitive bases are found to occur consistently in their stative form:

xác̓ət. 'It's strong.'
c̓áłt. 'It's cold.'
k̓ínt. 'He is uneasy.'
ƛ̓áx̣t. 'It's fast.'
q̓ʷúct. 'It's fat.'
k̓ʷíc̓ət. 'It's full.'
qált. 'It's fresh.'
kʷáłət. 'It's warm.'
c̓árt. 'It's sour.'

But many occur in forms that allow clear identification of the stative suffix:

//pax̣// 'think'
paˀx̣am. 'He is thinking.' (//-ˀ-// 'inchoative'; cf. 3.22)
px̣páx̣t. 'He is smart.'

//k̓iy̓// 'cold'
k̓əy̓íkst. 'They are cold hands.'
k̓əy̓əy̓əxə́n ~ k̓ey̓əy̓íxən. 'They are cold feet.'

//x̣al// 'clear'
sx̣əlx̣ált. 'It's a day.'
sx̣lə́p. 'It's tomorrow.'

3.12. Middle stems. Bases may also receive the middle suffix //-m//, which indicates some involvement on the part of the primary referent. Middle forms are always conjugated with the primary reference pronoun set. The suffix //-m// is not a primary suffix, and follows any lexical suffixes in the stem formation.

//ɬaxʷ-p-(ú)s-m// ɬxʷpúsəm. 'He looped it around his neck.' (loose-non control-neck-middle)
//k-caˀ-caˀ-ál-aˀ-qʷ-m// kcaˀcaˀálaˀqʷəm. 'He knocked at the tipi poles.' (directive-hit-hit-diminutive cylindrical objects [//-álqʷ// 'cylindrical objects'; //-aˀ-//

'diminutive infix']-middle)

Many examples concerning //-m// 'middle' are listed in section 2.543; the discussion of //-m// in conjunction with success stems is presented in 3.1422. Middle stems can also add the transitive suffixes //-n-t// or //-s-t// in the formation of reflexive words, which, however, function as all other intransitive forms. They are discussed in 3.33. For the discussion of transitivized middle stems, see 3.141.

3.13. Transitive stems. Bases occurring with the transitive suffix //-t// constitute transitive stems. The label 'transitive' is used to indicate that these forms make reference to both an actor and a recipient. A simple transitive form consists of:

```
      -n-
      -s-
BASE  -ł-      - t - Recipient - Actor
      -x(í)-
```

As indicated above, one of four suffixes may intervene between the base (intransitive or middle) and the transitive suffix //-t//. They are: //-n-// 'active'; //-s-// 'causative'; //-ł-// 'expressed goal'; //-x(í)-// 'benefactive'. //-n-// and //-s-// are the two most common of the four.

Theoretically, each root can appear with any of these four suffixes; in practice many such occurrences are not recorded. The following general rules prevail:

Each base tends to appear predominantly with either //-n-t//, or //-s-t//; however, cases of the same base occurring now with //-n-t//, now with //-s-t//, are not uncommon.

//-x(í)-t// may be suffixed to any base to indicate action on behalf of (even if the action is directed against, or to the detriment of) the recipient. It is a sort of 'dative of interest.'

//-ł-t// optionally replaces either //-n-t// or //-s-t// to introduce a third party, which is then usually specified by a complement, or is clearly understood in context.

The difference in meaning between forms in //-s-t// and forms in //-n-t// is subtle and often very hard to convey in a translation:

//wík// 'see'
//wík-n-t-(í)xʷ// wíkəntxʷ. 'You see it.'
//wík-s-t-(í)xʷ// wíkstxʷ. 'You look at it.'

//kíc// 'reach'
//kíc-n-t-(í)xʷ// kícəntxʷ. 'You reached him.'
//kíc-s-t-(í)xʷ// kícstxʷ. 'You got to him.'

//wíkʷ// 'hide'
//wíkʷ-n-t-(í)m// wíkʷəntəm. 'Something was hidden by someone.'

//wíkʷ-s-t-(í)m// wíkʷstəm. 'Something was hidden by someone.' (//-(í)m// 'indefinite')

In a number of cases, parallel forms with //-ɬ-t// and //-n-t// or //-s-t// were recorded without difference in translation.

cməystín askʷíst. 'I know your name.' (//əc-miy-s-t-(í)n//)
cməyɬtín askʷíst. 'I know your name.' (//əc-miy-ɬ-t-(í)n//)

k̓áwəntəm pít. 'We cleaned Pete out.' (//k̓áw-n-t-(í)m//)
k̓áwɬtəm pít. 'We cleaned Pete out.' (//k̓áw-ɬ-t-(í)m//)

xʷíc̓əntxʷ. 'You give it to him.' (//xʷíc̓-n-t-(í)xʷ//)
xʷíc̓əɬtxʷ. 'You give it to him.' (//xʷíc̓-ɬ-t-(í)xʷ//)
xʷíc̓əxtxʷ. 'You give it to him, and it's for him.' (//xʷíc̓-x(í)-t-(í)xʷ//)

Transitive stems without personal pronoun marking have imperative force (cf. 3.31).

3.131. The transitive pronoun affixes. Transitive pronouns accompany transitive stems. They mark a two-party relationship, while they place special attention on the party responsible. Thus, in all cases two entities are involved, an actor and a specfic goal or object. Transitive pronouns are all variable-stress suffixes.

The basic subset of transitive pronouns marks the actor in conjunction with third person recipients (singular and plural; disambiguation of third person number is discussed below), and is charted thus:

//-(í)n//	'1st sg.'
//-(í)xʷ//	'2nd sg.'
//-(í)s//	'3rd sg.'
//-(í)m//	'1st pl.'
//-(í)p//	'2nd pl.'
//-(í)s-lx//	'3rd pl.'

//kɬ-s̲l̲-n-t-(í)n// kɬsələntín. 'I place something upon a surface.' (//kɬ-// 'down on a surface')

//ʔáq̓ʷ-(ú)s-n-t-(í)xʷ// ʔáq̓ʷəsəntxʷ. 'You shaved him.'

• //k̲̓l̲-s-t-(í)s// k̓əlstís. 'He has been waiting for him.'

//kím̓-s-t-(í)m// kím̓əstəm. 'We dislike him.'

//əc-miy-s-t-(í)p// cməystíp. 'You (pl.) know it.'

//əc-miy-ɬ-t-(í)s-lx// cməyɬtísəlx. 'They know it.'

Third person recipient forms can optionally be disambiguated for number when the actor is singular. Specifically, first and second person singular forms receive the suffix //-lx// to indicate third person plural recipient:

txəməntín. 'I stuck it on something.'
txəməntínəlx. 'I stuck some things on something.'

txəməntíxʷ. 'You sg. stuck some things on something.'
txəməntíxʷəlx. 'You sg. stuck some things on something.'

Third person singular actor forms reduplicate their stem to show third plural recipient:

//n-ɬxʷ-ɬaxʷ-p-(á)x̣n-n-t-(í)s// nəɬxʷixp̓áx̣s. 'He hooked something on their shoulders.' (//-(á)x̣n// 'arms, shoulders, hands')
//n-ɬaxʷ-p-(á)x̣n-n-t-(í)s// nəɬxʷpáx̣s. 'He hooked something on his (someone's) shoulders.'

A number of stems, however, refer only to singular or plural recipients. For example,

noq̓əʔíksəs. 'He gives it to someone.'
nəxƛ̓íksəs. 'He gives it to more than one person.'

When the actor is plural, disambiguation of number for the recipient can be accomplished only by specific reference in an accompanying complement. Thus,

cársəməntp. 'You pl. made a motion to him/them.'
cársəməntp y̓i tkaʔkaʔɬís. 'You pl. made a motion to three people.'

When the recipient is other than third person, and thus is expressed by a pronoun, the shape of the pronominal markers is conditioned by the combination of suffixes they cooccur with: //-s-t//, //-ɬ-t// and //-x(í)-t// on the one hand; and //-n-t// on the other. The following charts give underlying forms; the morphophonemics involved are discussed, and the surface realizations exemplified, in 2.545.

//-s-t// paradigm

Actor		Recipient 1st sg./pl.	 2nd sg./pl.
1st sg.	//	-----	-s-t-(ú)m-(í)n
2nd sg.	$k^{w}u$	-s-t-(í)x^{w}	-----
3rd sg.	$k^{w}u$	-s-t-(í)s	-s-t-(ú)m-(í)s
1st pl.		-----	-s-t-(ú)m-(í)t
(2nd pl.	$k^{w}u$	-s-t-(í)p	-----)
3rd pl.	$k^{w}u$	-s-t-(í)s-lx	-s-t-(ú)m-(í)s-lx//

//-n-t// paradigm

Actor	Recipient			
		1st sg./pl.		2nd sg./pl.
1st sg.	//	-----		-n-t-s-(í)n
2nd sg.	kʷu	-n-t-(í)xʷ		-----
3rd sg.	kʷu	-n-t-(í)s		-n-t-s-(í)s
1st pl.		-----		-n-t-s-(í)t
(2nd pl.	kʷu	-n-t-(í)p		-----)
3rd pl.	kʷu	-n-t-(í)s-lx		-n-t-s-(í)s-lx//

Note that all second person plural forms are listed in parentheses; in ordinary speech situations they are usually replaced by second person singular forms. In the following examples the first in each group is given in both underlying and surface forms as a model for the group.

//kʷu əc-t-k̓l-k̓l-s-t-(í)xʷ//, etc.
kʷu ctk̓əlk̓əlstíxʷ. 'You have been expecting me/us.'
kʷu ctk̓əlk̓əlstís. 'He has been expecting me/us.'
(kʷu ctk̓əlk̓əlstíp. 'You (pl.) have been expecting me/us.')
kʷu ctk̓əlk̓əlstísəlx. 'They have been expecting me/us.'

//kʷu əc-kím̓-s-t-(í)xʷ//, etc.
kʷu ckím̓əstxʷ. 'You dislike me/us.'
kʷu ckím̓əsc. 'He dislikes me/us.'
(kʷu ckím̓əstp. 'You (pl.) dislike me/us.')
kʷu ckím̓əscəlx. 'They dislike me/us.'

//əc-t-k̓l-k̓l-s-t-(ú)m-(í)n//, etc.
ctk̓əlk̓əlstúmən. 'I have been expecting you.'
ctk̓əlk̓əlstúms. 'He has been expecting you.'
ctk̓əlk̓əlstúmt. 'We have been expecting you.'
ctk̓əlk̓əlstúmsəlx. 'They have been expecting you.'

//lút-s-t-(ú)m-(í)n//, etc.
lútstəmən. 'I refused you.'
lútstəms. 'He refused you.'
lútstəmt. 'We refused you.'
lútstəmsəlx. 'They refused you.'

//kʷu c̓lx-n-t-(í)xʷ//, etc.
kʷu c̓əlxəntíxʷ. 'You grab me/us.'
kʷu c̓əlxəntís. 'He grabs me/us.'
(kʷu c̓əlxəntíp. 'You (pl.) grab me/us.')
kʷu c̓əlxəntísəlx. 'They grab me/us.'

//kʷu ʔáq̓ʷ-(ú)s-n-t-(í)xʷ//, etc.
kʷu ʔáq̓ʷəsəntxʷ. 'You shave me/us.'
kʷu ʔáq̓ʷəsəs. 'He shaves me/us.'
(kʷu ʔáq̓ʷəsəntp. 'You (pl.) shave me/us.')
kʷu ʔáq̓ʷəsəsəlx. 'They shave me/us.'

//c̓əxʷ-n-t-s-(í)n//, etc.
c̓əxʷəncin. 'I correct you (in speech).'
c̓əxʷəncís. 'He corrects you.'
c̓əxʷəncít. 'We correct you.'
c̓əxʷəncísəlx. 'They correct you.'

//cú-n-t-s-(í)n//, etc.
cúncən. 'I told you something.'
cúncs. 'He told you something.'
cúnct. 'We told you something.'
cúncsəlx. 'They told you something.'

3.132. Indefinite forms. It seems appropriate to discuss here a third person indefinite recipient form. It consists of the suffix //-(í)m// 'indefinite' following the combinations //-n-t// or //-s-t//.

//cú-n-t-(í)n// cún. 'I told him.'
//cú-n-t-(í)xʷ// cúntxʷ. 'You told him.'
//cú-n-t-(í)s// cús. 'He told him.'

But nǫte
//cú-n-t-(í)m// cúntəm. 'Someone was told.'
and the homophonous form
//cú-n-t-(í)m// cúntəm. 'We told him.'

Indefinite forms are limited to third person. Thus *kən cúntəm is not possible; nor is *kʷu cúntəm, meaning either 'I was told', or 'We were told'; the first person primary referent intransitive form is kən cút.[2] 'I said (so).' Further examples:

//púl-s-t-(í)m// púlstəm. 'Somebody was being fought.'
//kíc-n-t-(í)m// kícəntəm. 'Somebody was reached.'
//kɨ-sl-n-t-(í)m// kɨsələntím. 'Something was set down.'

For syntactic use of these forms, see 4.212.

3.14. Secondary stems. Two suffixes added to a base participate in the formation of secondary stems: //-í-// 'secondary formative' (hereafter glossed 'secondary'); and //-nú-// 'success'.

3.141. Purposive stems. //-í-// is added to middle bases which are then transitivized. These forms seem to contain a purposive notion, and they contrast with primary transitive and middle forms.[3]

//tar̓q·m-í-n-t-(í)xʷ// tər̓əqmíntxʷ. 'You danced around him.' (cf. tər̓əqəntíxʷ. 'You kicked him' [transitive]; kʷ tər̓qám. 'You danced' [middle].)

//c̓axʷ-m-í-n-t-(í)m// c̓əxʷmíntəm. 'We poured it [for a reason].' (cf. c̓əxʷəntím. 'We poured it' [transitive]; kʷu c̓əxʷám. 'We poured it' [middle].)

//kʕáw-m-í-s-t-(í)m// kʕawmístəm. 'Someone is hired for it.' (cf. kʕáwənt. 'Hire him' [transitive]; kʕáwəm. 'He does the hiring' [middle].)

//-í-// participates in the formation of more complex intransitive words. Pertinent discussion is presented for reflexive forms (3.33); instrumental forms (3.35); and progressive forms (3.372).

3.142. Success stems. //-nú-// is suffixed to an intransitive base to form a (bound) success stem which, in turn, will be transitivized or put in the middle form. In transitive stems //-nú-// denotes that an action is performed by an actor only with great difficulty; in middle stems it indicates that the state or situation is not anyone's direct responsibility, but rather that it exists or occurs accidentally.

3.1421. Transitive success stems. //-nú-// is found in active-transitive stems (i.e. before the active-transitive suffixes //-n-t//) or in causative-transitive stems (i.e. before the causative-transitive suffixes //-s-t//). It exhibits an optional variant //-núy-// occurring in the third person singular and plural.

//ƛ̓al-l-nú-n-t-(í)n// ƛ̓ələlnún. 'I finally killed it.'
ƛ̓ələlnúntxʷ. 'You finally killed it.'
ƛ̓ələlnús ~ ƛ̓ələlnúys. 'He finally killed it.'
ƛ̓ələlnúncən. 'I finally killed you.'
etc.
//kc-ha-ham-nú-s-t-(í)n// kchahamnústən. 'I finally got it right.' (kc - prefix of uncertain meaning, occurring only in this formation)

//-nú-// may be affixed to a stem after the primary suffix //-p// 'non-control'.

//kɬ-s-lax̣ʷ-p-nú-n-t-(í)s// ksɬx̣ʷpnús ~ ksɬx̣ʷpnúys. 'He will get away from him.' (More literally, 'He will manage to have him lose him.')
//k̓ʷúɬ-nú-n-t-(í)n// k̓ʷəlnún. 'I managed to fix it.'
//ʔɬ-ʔiɬn-nú-n-t-(í)n// ʔiəʔɬnún. 'I finally learned how to eat it.'

3.1422. Middle success stems. //-nú-// may also be found in the stative form of middle stems. These forms may then be inflected with the primary reference pronouns.

//wiy// 'finish'
//kn wiy-nú-m-t// kən wəynúmt. 'I am ready.'

//s-wiy-nú-m-t-xx// səwəynúmtx. 'He is handsome.'
(//-xx// 'progressive'; cf. 3.372)

//ʔitx// 'sleep'
//kn k̓ł-ʔt-ʔitx-nú-m-t// kən k̓əłəʔtəʔtxnúmt. 'I overslept.'

//k̓áw// 'gone'
//s-əc-k̓w-k̓áw-p-nú-m-t-xx// sck̓əwk̓əwpnúmtx. 'He is feeling lonesome.'

//x̲n̲̓// 'hurt//
//s-x̲n̲̓-nú-m-t-xx// sx̣ən̓ənúmtx. 'He is hurt.'

3.15. Grammatical range of bases. It can be seen that a given base may appear in three different stems: intransitive, middle, and transitive, even though the full range of possibilities is not commonly exhibited by any one root. In addition, a base may further appear in purposive and success stems.

//in-s-əc-n-c̓axʷ// iscənc̓áxʷ. 'It's my pouring in (that did it).' (intransitive)
//kn n-c̓axʷ-m// kən nəc̓əxʷám. 'I pour some in.' (middle)
//n-c̓axʷ-n-t// nəc̓əxʷánt! 'Pour it in!' (transitive)
//n-c̓axʷ-nú-n-t-(i)n// nəc̓əxʷnún. 'I managed to pour it in.' (success)

//n-c̓axʷ-m-í-n-t-(í)n// nəc̓əxʷmín. 'I pour it in.' (purposive)

//kíc// kíc. 'He got there.' (intransitive)
//kíc-m// kícəm. 'He reached a particular place.' (middle)
//kíc-n-t// kícənt! 'Meet him!' (transitive)
//kíc-s-t-(í)s// kícsc. 'He reached him.' (transitive)

//tar̓q-n-t-(í)n// tər̓əqəntín. 'I kicked him.' (transitive)
//tar̓q-m-í-n-t-(í)m// tər̓əqmíntəm. 'We danced around him.' (purposive)

//ʔácqaʔ// ʔácqaʔ. 'He went out.' (intransitive)
//ʔácqaʔ-n-t// ʔácqaʔnt! 'Take him out!' (transitive)

//k-ʔaw// k̓áw. 'He is gone.' (intransitive)
//k-ʔaw-p-m-í-n-t// k̓ə w pmínt! 'Leave him alone!' (purposive)[4]

//puxʷ// púxʷ. 'It blows (as of wind).' (intransitive)
//puxʷ-m// púxʷəm. 'He blows.' (middle)
//púxʷ-n-t-(í)xʷ// pxʷəntíxʷ. 'You blow it.' (transitive)

//caʔ-p// caʔáp. 'He is hit.' (intransitive)
//caʔ-m// caʔám. 'He hits.' (middle)
//caʔ-n-t-(í)s// caʔntís. 'He hit him.' (transitive)

//kʷúm// kʷúm. 'It's put away.' (intransitive)

//kn kʷúm-m// kən kʷúm. 'I put things away.' (middle)

//kʷúm-n-t-(í)n// kʷúmən. 'I put it away.' (transitive)

3.16. Summary of referent-focus system. Intransitive stems make reference to an actor by means of the primary reference pronouns, or the absolutive pronouns. No direct control or responsibility is attributed to the primary referent other than the necessary connection.

Middle stems also make reference to an actor by means of the primary reference pronouns, or the absolutive pronouns. A limited amount of control or responsibility is attributed to the primary referent, beyond the measure of necessary connection.

Transitive stems make reference to an actor as well as to a recipient. The actor is in full control, or has full responsibility; the emphasis is on the recipient. Pronominal reference is expressed with the transitive pronouns.

Purposive stems make reference to an actor who is performing a given action for a specific purpose; success stems make reference to an actor who exerts only limited control: either succeeding to control after trying or struggling, or being victimized by an accidental happening.

3.17. Summary of the pronominal system. Reference to persons is made by means of various pronominal elements.

3.171. The dependent pronouns. Dependent pronouns are so labeled in contrast with independent pronouns (see 3.172): members of this broad class can only be affixes or particles, whereas independent pronouns are full words. In addition, pronominal forms pattern in sets that are not necessarily morphologically homogeneous; in fact, most sets include elements of disparate grammatical classes.

The unifying feature for all the pronominal sets is semantic; each of the personal markers in a set identifies the entity that is being focused upon, or it relates to an expressed notion (i.e. it points to the connection between itself and a second party, or a concept, or action, or state). Thus each set is labeled to reflect these orientations or relationships. One such set focuses on (marks, points to) the primary referent, the most important entity referred to; another focuses on the recipient of a certain action or activity in relation to an actor; yet another focuses neither on the actor nor on the goal, but rather on the totality of the concept expressed, the action or state, and particularly on its result or product. Thus we have:

1. a primary reference set (discussed in 3.111.);
2. a transitive set (discussed in 3.131.);
3. an absolutive set (discussed in 3.112.).

3.172. The independent pronouns are full words, albeit restricted (cf. section 4.55). Reference to one or more specific persons ('I, you, we...') is implicit in each form.

3.1721. The members of the set are:

incáʔ.	'It is I.'
anwíʔ.	'It is you. sg.'
cníɬc.	'It is he/she/it.'
mənímɬtæt.	'It is we.'
mənímɬəmp.	'It is you. pl.'
mənímɬcəlx.	'It is they.'

The absolutive pronoun affixes are incorporated in this paradigm: //in-// and //an-// are prefixes in their corresponding independent pronouns; //-s// and //-s-lx// appear in their regular morphophonemic alternants -c and -c-lx, respectively, following ɬ-; //-tt// and //-mp// appear affixed to a general plural stem //mnímɬ-//.

3.1722. Personal enclitic markers. Exceptionally, and for the stylistic effect of emphasis, the proclitic (primary reference pronouns, 3.111) can be used enclitically, each postposed to its independent pronoun counterpart.

incáʔ kən kən ʔáyxʷt. 'As for me, I am tired.'

anwíʔ kʷ kʷ ikɬtkɬmíɬxʷ. 'You will be my wife!'

3.2. Complex bases. Discussion thus far has centered on simple bases (containing just a single root, or a root and a primary suffix). Often, however, bases are more complex. They are still basically intransitive, and, like simple bases, may undergo transitive and middle suffixation.

3.21. Reduplicated bases. A number of reduplicative processes apply to Colville roots to form *iterative* bases, *diminutive* bases, and *resultive* bases.

3.211. Unanalyzable reduplicative forms. A number of words show reduplication of apparent roots which do not occur except in this double form. Regular morphophonemic rules apply, except that initial glottalized stops do not lose their glottalization, and pharyngeals are deleted (cf. 2.525).

3.2111. Full reduplication with two different stress patterns:

(a) $C_1\acute{V}_1C_2$ - $C_1V_1C_2$ (suggesting perhaps a full reduplicative suffix)

//x̣ʷat-x̣ʷat// x̣ʷátx̣ʷt. 'It's a duck' or 'They are ducks.'
//c̓ixʷ-c̓ixʷ// c̓íxʷc̓əxʷ. 'It's a fish hawk.' etc.
//s-x̣aʔ-x̣aʔ// sx̣áʔx̣aʔ. 'He is the father-in-law.' etc.
//pál-pal-q(í)n// pálpəlqən. 'It's a thimbleberry.' etc.

//nax̣ʷ-nəx̣ʷ// náx̣ʷənx̣ʷ. 'She's the wife.' etc.

//qʷam-qʷam-t// qʷámqʷəmt. 'It's excellent.' etc.

//kʷus-kʷus-t// kʷúskʷst. 'It's frisky.' etc.

(b) $C_1C_2C_3$ - $C_1C_2\acute{V}_1C_3$ (suggesting perhaps a full reduplicative prefix)

//ƛ̓ʕk̓-ƛ̓ʕak̓// ƛ̓ək̓əƛ̓əʕák̓. 'It's a blackbird.' etc.

//c̓ʕn̓-c̓ʕan̓// c̓ən̓əc̓əʕán̓. 'It's a grasshopper.' etc.

3.2112. Partial reduplication: an apparent $C_1\acute{V}_1$- prefix.

//s-q̓ʷá-q̓ʷalqʷ// sq̓ʷáq̓ʷəlqʷ. 'It's a prairie chicken' or 'they are prairie chickens.'

//k̓ʷú-k̓ʷuxʷ-(í)naʔ// k̓ʷúk̓ʷəxʷnaʔ. 'It's a mouse.' etc.

3.212. Iteratives are formed by prefixation of C_1C_2- of the root. Regular morphophonemic rules then apply.

Often iterative forms resemble English plurals; however, the Colville forms are used only when disambiguation or emphasis require it.[5]

//k̓w-k̓áw-lx// k̓əwk̓áwəlx. 'They are all gone.' (k̓áw 'gone'; cf. k̓áwəlx. 'They are gone.')

//kl-kilx// kəlkílx. 'They are hands.' (Cf. kílx. 'It's a hand.')

//s-x̣ƛ̓-x̣íƛ̓-x(á)n// sx̣ƛ̓əx̣íƛ̓əxən. 'They are (pairs of) trousers.' (Cf. xçíƛ̓əxən. 'It's a pair of trousers.')

//s-n-ʕc-ʕac-(í)naʔ// snacʕacínaʔ. 'They are earrings.' (Cf. sənʕacínaʔ. 'It's an earring.')

//sq̓ʷs-qʷsiʔ// sqʷsqʷsíʔ. 'They are the sons.' (Cf. sqʷsíʔ. 'He is the son.')

//tw-twít// təwətwít. 'They are young men.' (Cf. //twít// 'young man')

//mt̓-mt̓ʕas// mət̓əmt̓əʕás. 'They are kidneys.' (Cf. mət̓əʕás. 'It's a kidney.')

//x̣m-x̣mʕaɬt// x̣əmx̣əmʕáɬt. 'They are flies.' (Cf. x̣əmʕáɬt. 'It's a fly.')

The following form is irregular:

//p̓s-p̓ʕas// psp̓ʕás. 'They are nighthawks.' (Cf. p̓əʕás. 'It's a nighthawk.')

Otherwise iterative forms may emphasize a repeated action, an intense activity, or a customary function.

//sw̓-síw̓-n-t-(í)xʷ// səw̓əsíw̓əntxʷ. 'You questioned him.' (síw̓ 'ask')

//sxʷ-súxʷ-n-t-(í)n// sxʷsúxʷən. 'I identify it.' (súxʷ 'recognize')

//s-x̣l-x̣al-t// sx̣əlx̣ált. 'It's a day.' (x̣al 'clear')

//əc-xʷl-xʷal-t// cxʷəlxʷált. 'He's alive.' (xʷal 'live')

//px̣-pax̣-t// px̣páx̣t. 'He's smart.' (pax̣ 'think')

Roots which are found to metathesize (cf. 2.543), have a special reduplicative prefix, $C_1V_1C_2$- of the root, which retains a full, unstressed vowel.

//caʔ-caʔ-m// caʔcaʔâm. 'He hits repeatedly.' (caʔám 'he hits.')

//n-ƛ̓aʔ-ƛ̓aʔ-(ú)s-t-n// nəƛ̓aʔƛ̓aʔústən. 'It's eyesight.' (//ƛ̓aʔ// 'search')

All iterative forms may undergo diminutive affixation (cf. 3.215).

3.213. Two special kinds of iterative forms are discussed here.

3.2131. Numeral iteratives. When numerals cooccur with the classifier //k-// 'persons' (3.42), their roots obligatorily undergo reduplicative suffixation, -C_1C_2 of the root.

//k-mus-ms// kmúsəms. 'They are four people.' (*kmûs is not permissible.)

//k-cíl-cl-(í)kst// kcílcəlkst. 'They are five people.' (cíl of uncertain meaning; //-(í)kst// 'hands'; cílkst 'five': *kcílkst is not permissible.)

3.2132. Intensive forms. Some forms which, semantically, contain a notion of intensity, customary or iterative action, have a special (non-productive) reduplicative infix: a consonant identical to that immediately preceding the stressed vowel is infixed after the same stressed vowel. Note that the deglottalization rule of reduplicated consonants does not apply to these infixes (cf. 2.525).

//ní-n-k̓-m-n// nínk̓əmən. 'It's a knife.' (ník̓ 'cut')
//k̓í-k̓-t// k̓ík̓ət. 'It's quite near.' (k̓ít 'near')

The following form seems to follow the same formative pattern, but remains otherwise unanalyzed (cf. 4.5661):
//ṅí-ṅ-ẇiʔ// ṅíṅəwiʔ. 'If and when...'

3.214. Resultive forms acquire a special meaning from that of their underlying roots. The process by which these forms are derived is similar to that discussed in 2.543:

a. the root vowel metathesizes with C_2;

b. the resultive suffix, -C_2 of the root, is added.

Thereafter the general rules of epenthesis apply.

//ƛ̓al-l// ƛ̓əlál. 'He is dead.' (ƛ̓al 'still'; ƛ̓əláp 'he was stopped.')
//caq̓-q̓// cq̓áq̓. 'He hit the target.' (cəq̓ 'hit')
//x̣aw̓-w̓// x̣w̓áw̓. 'It has (been) dried.' (x̣aw̓ 'dry')
//q̓ax̣ʷ-x̣ʷ// q̓əx̣ʷáx̣ʷ. 'He put it above all else.' (q̓ax̣ʷ, basic meaning uncertain)
//xaƛ̓-ƛ̓// xƛ̓áƛ̓. 'He grew.' (xaƛ̓, basic meaning uncertain)

Resultive forms may undergo iterative reduplication.

However, the addition of the reduplicative iterative prefix shifts the stress back on the root.

//ƛ̓ax̣-x̣// ƛ̓əx̣áx̣. 'He's an elder.' (ƛ̓ax̣ 'grow')
//ƛ̓x̣-ƛ̓ax̣-x̣// ƛ̓əx̣ƛ̓áx̣əx̣. 'They are elders.' (Cf. ƛ̓əx̣áp 'he grows.')

3.215. Diminutives are formed with the prefix C_1- of the root. (Other diminutive forms are discussed in 3.23.)

//-kəwáp// (bound morpheme) 'horse'
//k-kəwáp-aʔ// kəkəwápaʔ.[6] 'It's a dog.'

//s-ɬwíɬc// sɬwíɬc. 'She's the niece.'
//s-ɬ-ɬwíɬc// sɬəɬwíɬc. 'She's the little niece.'

Iterative bases may undergo diminutive derivation:

//s-tɬ-táɬm// stɬtáɬəm. 'They are boats.'
//s-t-tɬ-táɬm// stətɬtáɬəm. 'They are little boats.'
(Cf. //s-táɬm// stáɬəm 'it's a boat', and //s-t-táɬm// stətáɬəm 'it's a little boat.')

3.22. Infixed bases. A rare infix //-ʔ-//, inserted after a root vowel, denotes inchoative aspect. It has been observed very sporadically in Colville, and it has not been possible to determine how active the process is. Related languages exhibit active cognate forms. (Cf. 3.372; 3.39.)

//pax̣// 'think'
//pa-ʔ-x̣// páʔx̣. 'He begins to think.'

//puxʷ// 'blow'
//pu-ʔ-xʷ// púʔxʷ. 'It begins to blow [as of wind].'

3.23. Glottalization of resonants. Root resonants are glottalized to add a diminutive notion. This process is not as important as the reduplicative and it applies only to a small class of roots.

sʕaníxʷ. 'It's a muskrat.'
sʕ̓an̓íxʷ. 'It's a little muskrat.'

Sometimes the glottalization of root resonants produces the effect of singling out a particular referent:

suyápix. 'It's the White race.'
suy̓ápix. 'He's a white man.'

The same process may apply to resonants in reduplicated diminutive bases, adding a notion of endearment.

isɬəɬwíɬc. 'She's my little niece.'
isɬəɬw̓íɬc. 'She's my cute little niece.' (Cf. isɬwíɬc 'she's my niece.')

inkəkəwápaʔ. 'It's my dog.'
inkəkəw̓ápaʔ. 'It's my cute little dog.'

3.24. Other derived forms as bases. In this section are discussed several prefixes which participate in the formation of complex bases.

3.241. Directional prefixes. With the exception of //ɫ-// 'back', which may precede other directionals, all the directional prefixes are attached directly to the root. They are:

//ɫ-// 'back'
//c-// 'cislocative'
//kɫ-// 'down'
//k̓ɫ-// 'around, back to'

Examples:

xʷúy̓. 'He went.'
ɫxʷúy̓. 'He went back.'
cxʷúy̓. 'He came.'
ɫcxʷúy̓. 'He came back.'

kíc. 'He got there.'
ckíc. 'He got here.'
ɫckíc. 'He got back here.'
k̓əɫkíc. 'He got back there.'

mút. 'He sat.'
kɬmút. 'He sat down.'

//sl// 'place'
kɬsələntín. 'I put something down on a surface.' (//kɬ-sl-n-t-(í)n// 'down-place-active-transitive-I')

//ník̓// 'cut'
k̓əɬník̓əs. 'He cuts around it.' (//k̓ɬ-ník̓-n-t-(í)s// 'around-cut-active-transitive-he')

púl̓. 'It smokes.'
k̓əɬpúl̓. 'It smokes from under.'

3.242. The directive prefix is //k-//, with an allomorph [t-] before roots beginning with a velar. The meaning of bases so derived is an extension of the meaning of the root. For example,

//wík// 'see'
//k-wík// 'find out'
//k-wík-n-t-(í)xʷ// kəwíkəntxʷ. 'You find it out.'

//tar̓q// 'kick'
//k-tar̓q// 'jump'
//k-tar̓q-n-t-(í)n// ktər̓əqəntín. 'I jump on it.'

//kíc// 'reach'
//k-kíc// 'meet'
//k-kíc-n-t// tkícənt! 'Go meet him!'

//xəwíl// 'road'
//k-xəwíl// 'travel along'
//k-xəwíl-m// txəwíləm. 'He came along.'

3.243. //n-// is the locative prefix. It specifies that a state or action has reference to a particular place.

//kax// 'walk'
//n-kax// 'follow a trail'
//n-kax-m// nəkxám. 'He follows the trail.' (locative-walk-middle)

//c̓ał-t// c̓áłt. 'It's cold.' (cold-stative)
//n-c̓ał-t// nəc̓áłt. 'It's cold water.'

Most often locative bases undergo more complex derivation:

//k̓ʕáw// 'greet, pray'
//n-k̓ʕáw//
//s-n-k̓ʕáw-m-n// sənk̓əʕáwmən. 'It's a church.' (absolute-locative-pray-middle-instrumental)

//qílxʷ// 'Indian'

//n-qílxʷ//

//s-n-qílxʷ-c(í)n// sənqílxʷcən. 'It's the Indian language.' (absolute-locative-Indian-mouth)

//pút// 'suffice'

//n-pút//

//n-pút-(í)ls// nəpútəls. 'He is satisfied.' (locative-suffice-state of mind)

For further examples of //n-// cf. sections 3.35 and 3.365.

3.244. *Extended bases* consist of a root and at least one *lexical affix*, a bound morpheme with concrete meaning(s). There is insufficient contrastive material involving extended bases to assure that stress placement rules are the same as those affecting all other affixes, but the available data suggest that they are. Note, however, that no unstressed lexical suffixes have been recorded (cf. 2.541).

Lexical prefix, root:

//puʔ-ƛal//

//in-s-puʔ-ƛal-l// ispuʔƛəlál. 'It was my dead spouse.' (puʔ- 'marriage partner'; //ƛal-l// 'dead', cf. 3.214)

Stress-retentive root, inherently stressed suffix:
//s-x̣íλ̓-m-ús// sx̣λ̓əmús. 'It's a slope.' (x̣íλ̓ 'go up';
-ús 'surface')

Stress-retentive root, variable stress suffix:
//síc-x(á)n// sícxən. 'They are new shoes.' (síc 'new';
-x(á)n 'feet, shoes')

Stress-shifting root, inherently stressed suffix:
//x̣aw̓-w̓-álqʷ// x̣əw̓əw̓álqʷ. 'They are dry sticks.' (x̣aw̓
'dry'; -álqʷ 'cylindrical objects')

Stress shifting root, variable stress suffix:
//n-x̣as-c(í)n// nəx̣scín. 'It's a good sound.' (x̣as
'good'; -c(í)n 'mouth, language')

Two lexical suffixes may cooccur, affixed to a root:
//kn n-x̣as-(á)qs(t)-x(á)n// kən nəx̣sáqstxən. 'I have a
good hip.' (-(á)qs(t) 'rear, back'; -x(á)n 'legs, feet')

3.3. Further affixation of intransitive, middle, and transitive stems. A number of important affixes can be added to the stems already discussed to create more complex forms.

3.31. Imperatives. It has already been stated (3.13) that transitive stems without personal pronoun markings have imperative force. This is commonly the case with active-transitive and with benefactive forms:

//ʕac̓-n-t// ʕác̓ənt! 'Look at it!' (sg.)
//kʷu k̓ɬ-pax̣-x(í)-t// kʷu k̓əɬpx̣xít! 'Think of something for me!' (sg.)

Plurals of these imperative forms add the unstressed suffix //-iʔ//.

//ʕac̓-n-t-iʔ// ʕác̓əntiʔ! 'Look at it!' (pl.)
//kʷu k̓ɬ-pax̣-x(í)-t-iʔ// kʷu k̓əɬpx̣xítiʔ! 'Think of something for me!' (pl.)

Intransitive stems form imperatives by means of the suffixes //-x// 'singular', and //-wiʔ// 'plural'.

//xʷúy̓-x// xʷúy̓əx! 'Go!' (sg.)
//xʷúy̓-wiʔ// xʷúy̓əwiʔ! 'Go!' (pl.)

//ʔiɬn-x// ʔíɬənx! 'Eat!' (sg.)
//ʔiɬn-wiʔ// ʔíɬənwiʔ! 'Eat!' (pl.)

3.32. Absolute mode. The absolute mode prefix is //s-// It is better known to Salishanists as 'nominalizer'.[7] In its primary function //s-// is prefixed to simple intransitive or middle stems.

//ˀiɬn// 'eat'
//ˀiɬn// ˀíɬən. 'He eats.'
//s-ˀiɬn// sə?íɬən. 'It's food.'

//cix// 'warm'
//cix// cíx. 'He's warm.'
//s-cix// scíx. 'It's heat.'

//taṙq// 'kick'
//taṙq-m// təṙəqám. 'He dances.'
//s-taṙq̣-m// stəṙəqám. 'He's a dancer.'

The resulting forms are intransitive, and typically can be found with the absolutive pronouns.

//in-s-ˀiɬn// isəˀíɬən. 'It's my food.'
//an-s-cix// ascíx. 'You are feeling warm.' (more literally, 'it is your feeling warm.')

Where semantics do not restrict it, absolutive forms can be found with one of the marked forms of the primary reference pronouns.

//lax̣// 'share'
//s-lax̣-t// slâx̣t. 'He's the partner.'
//in-s-lax̣-t// islâx̣t. 'He's my partner.'
//kʷ in-s-lax̣-t// kʷ islâx̣t. 'You are my partner.'

Although most stems require //s-// prefixation before they can be inflected with the absolutive pronouns, some do not. Underlying such stems are roots with do not appear as transitive bases. For example,

//in-citxʷ// incítxʷ. 'It's my house.'
//an-kəwap// ankəwáp. 'It's your mount.'

Conversely, there are some roots which are consistently accompanied by //s-//.

//s-qltmixʷ// sqəltmíxʷ. 'He's a man.'
//s-waʔníxʷ// swaʔníxʷ. 'They are thornberries.'

Absolute forms undergo additional derivational cycles: they can function as stems underlying instrumental (3.35), unrealized (3.371), and progressive words (3.372), all of which are intransitive. (Other intransitive derivations are discussed in 3.36.)

3.33. Reflexives. The reflexive suffix is //-sút//. It occurs after transitive (3.13) and purposive (3.141) stems. The resulting forms are handled like intransitives: pronominal reference is marked with the primary reference pronouns, or with the absolutive pronouns. Reflexives are in a sense paradoxical: they are intransitive in grammatical terms, but have underlying transitive motivation, both in meaning and in form.

//xʷak̓ʷ// 'separate'
//əc-xʷak̓ʷ// cxʷák̓ʷ. 'He is divorced.' (intransitive; əc- 'actual')
//xʷak̓ʷ-n-t-sút// xʷk̓ʷəncút. 'He divorced her.' (more literally, 'he separated himself from her.')

//wal// 'burn'
//wal-p// wəláp. 'It burns.' (intransitive)
//wal-n-t-sút// wələncút. 'He burns himself.'

//tar̓q// 'kick'
//tar̓q-m// tər̓əqám. 'He dances.' (middle)
//tar̓q-n-t-sút// tər̓əqəncút. 'He kicks himself.'

//tax̣ʷ// 'straight'
//tax̣ʷ-m-í-sút// tax̣ʷmíst. 'He reached for something.' (purposive; cf. //tax̣ʷ-m-s-t-(í)s// tx̣ʷəmstís 'he straightened it out.' [transitive])[8]

Occasionally purposive reflexives contrast with transitive reflexives:

//tiɬm// 'straight, flat'
//tiɬm-m-í-sút// tiɬəm̓íst. 'He lay flat.' (purposive; the glottalization of [m] is unexplained)
//tiɬm-n-t-sút// tɬəməncút. 'He straightened out, reformed.' (transitive)

3.34. Reciprocals. The inherently stressed suffix //-nwíxʷ// is added to intransitive stems to form reciprocals. Personal reference marking is accomplished by means of the primary reference pronouns, or the absolutive pronouns. Like reflexive forms, reciprocals have underlying transitive motivation while they are grammatically intransitive.

Personal reference is necessarily plural, but singular forms often substitute their plural counterparts, most commonly in the second and third persons.

//caʔ-nwíxʷ-lx// caʔnwíxʷəlx. 'They hit one another.' (hit-reciprocal-plural)
//caʔ-nwíxʷ// caʔnwíxʷ. 'They hit one another.' (hit-reciprocal)

//p c̓l-c̓lx-nwíxʷ// p c̓əlc̓əlxənwíxʷ. 'You grabbed one another.' (you pl. grab-grab-reciprocal)

//kʷ c̓l-c̓lx-nwíxʷ// kʷ c̓əlc̓əlxənwíxʷ. 'You grabbed one another.' (you sg. grab-grab-reciprocal)

Reciprocal forms, however, may be transitivized. Compare:

//in-s-kl-kl-nwíxʷ// iskəlkələnwíxʷ. 'I chase deer with him (towards one another).' (More literally, 'It is my reciprocal deer-chasing.')

//kl-kl-nwíxʷ-s-t-(í)s// kəlkələnwíxʷsc. 'He started to chase deer with someone.'

3.35. Instrumentals. The instrumental suffix is //-n//. It occurs after intransitive stative stems, or after middle and purposive stems.

Whereas the label 'stative' may have been literally appropriate in all the examples discussed in 3.115, in the case of many instrumental forms it may not seem equally adequate.[9] The difficulty stems mostly from the English glosses. All Colville instrumental forms correspond to English nouns. But it is to be remembered that underlying all Colville words are intransitive roots (verb-like), and that //-t// 'stative' indicates the result or the inherent property of whatever (verbal) notion is contained in the root. Indeed it is often extremely difficult to identify the meaning of Colville roots (and Salishan roots in general), and this is just because of their nature: they are all intransitive and verb-like; they often convey very abstract notions. For a speaker of English it is hard to see how an item such as 'hit' is intransitive; but it is even harder to see how the item 'nose' is really verb-like. Not surprisingly, very often instrumental forms occur in the absolute mode (noun-like) form, and/or in the locative form (cf. sections 3.32 and 3.243).

3.351. Stative instrumentals.

3.3511. Instrumentals discussed in this section are built upon complex bases. They reflect the basic, natural function of the notion contained in the root. No manipulative or effort-like notions are included in these forms.

//s-n-wixʷ-t-n// sənwíxʷtən. 'It's a place where people used to live.' (absolute-locative-live-stative-instrumental)

//s-n-kł-mut-t-n// sənkłmútən. 'It's a chair.' (absolute-locative-down-sit-stative-instrumental)

//in-s-x̣ʷúy̓-lwís-t-n// isxʷəy̓əlwístən. 'They are the places where I travel all over.' (my-absolute-go-frequentative-stative-instrumental)

//an-kɬ-s-n-ʔilíʔ-t-n// aksəməʔilíʔtən. 'It's your future residence.' (your-unrealized-absolute-locative-be there-stative-instrumental)

//s-n-ʔistk-t-n// sənəʔístktən. 'It's a wintering place.' (absolute-locative-winter-stative-instrumental)

//s-n-ʔiɬn-t-n// sənəʔíɬəntən. 'It's a feeding place (as of deer).' (absolute-locative-eat-stative-instrumental)

//s-n-qʷl-qʷíl-t-n// sənqʷəlqʷíltən. 'It's a language.' (absolute-locative-talk-talk-stative-instrumental; cf. the causative form //qʷl-qʷíl-s-t-(í)n// qʷəlqʷílstən 'I talk words.')

//s-xʷúy̓-t-n// sxʷúy̓ətən. 'They are tracks.' (absolute-go -stative-instrumental)

3.3512. Instrumental stems may be compound (3. 4) or extended (3. 25). Such forms are also stative.

//s-n-ʕac-qáx̣aʔ-t-n// sənʕacqáx̣aʔtən. 'It's a corral.' (absolutive-locative-tie-animal-stative-instrumental)

//n-ƛ̓aʔ-ƛ̓aʔ-(ú)s-t-n// nəƛ̓aʔƛ̓aʔústən. 'It's eyesight.' (locative-search-search-eyes-stative-instrumental)

//n-ʔiɬn-aʔ-s-qilxʷ-t-n// nəʔɬnaʔsqílxʷtən. 'He's a cannibal.' (locative-eat-compound formative-absolute-person/Indian-stative-instrumental)

3.3513. Some forms involving more than one derivational cycle apparently affix //-n// directly to intransitive stems without the stative marker.

//k̓ʷúl̓// 'make, do' (intransitive root)
//k̓ʷúl̓-n-t// k̓ʷúl̓ənt! 'Do it!' (active-transitive)
//k̓ʷúl̓-n-t-sút// k̓ʷələncút. 'He made it himself.' (intransitive stem)
//k̓ʷúl̓-n-t-sút-n// k̓ʷələncútən. 'It's God.'

//kʷíl̓// 'sweat' (intransitive root)
//kʷíl̓-s-t-(í)s// kʷíl̓əsc. 'He sweats.' (causative-transitive)
//s-n-kʷíl̓-s-t-n// sənkʷíl̓əstən. 'It's a sweat house.'

3.352. Middle instrumentals. The instrumental suffix //-n// may be added to middle and purposive stems. The difference between the two types of forms seems to hinge upon the notion of direct effort on the part of an agent. In contrast with purposive instrumentals, middle instrumentals do not refer to (mechanical) tools requiring an agent's manipulation. Neither do they refer, however, to natural functions, as was the case with stative instrumentals.

//n-k̓ʕáw-m-n// nək̓əʕáwmən. 'It's a prayer.' (locative-greet-middle-instrument)

//s-n-ní-n-k̓-m-n// səninək̓əmən. 'It's a knife holder.' (absolutive-locative-cut [intensive, cf. 3.2132] -middle-instrumental)

//n-k̓ʷúl̓-m-n// nək̓ʷúl̓əmən. 'It's a work horse.' (locative-make-middle-instrumental. Cf. //sxʷ-k̓ʷúl̓-m// sxʷk̓ʷúl̓əm. 'He's a working man.' [sxʷ - 'person'])

//n-taʔ-m-í-n// nətaˀmín. 'It's a pestle.' (locative-pound-middle-secondary-instrumental)

//ɬap̓-m-í-n// ɬp̓əmín. 'It's a line maker.' (line-middle-secondary-instrumental)

//s-tax-m-í-n// stxmín. 'It's a comb.' (absolute-comb-middle-secondary-instrumental)

//a̓y̓-m-í-n// q̓əy̓əmín. 'It's a pen.' (write-middle-secondary-instrumental)

3.36. State of mind. The variable stress suffix //-(í)ls// denotes a state of mind, often a wish. It usually cooccurs with the locative prefix //n-//. All state of mind forms discussed in sections 3.361 and 3.362 are intransitive and pronominal reference is marked by either the primary reference pronouns, or by the absolutive pronouns; those discussed in 3.363 are of a different type.

3.361. //-(í)ls// is suffixed directly to intransitive stems, including those marked non-control or stative.

//kʷu n-q̓iʔ-(í)ls// kʷu nəq̓əʔíls. 'We are bothered.' (q̓iʔ 'trouble')

//n-nax̣ʷ-nax̣ʷ-(í)ls// nəx̣ʷənx̣ʷíls. 'He's thinking about/wants a mate.' (nax̣ʷ-nax̣ʷ 'mate'; cf. 3.2111)

//n-st-(í)ls// nəstíls. 'He thinks.' (st 'think')

//kn ʕanq-(í)ls// kən ʕanqíls. 'I am satisfied.' (ʕanq of uncertain meaning)

//kn n-pút-(í)ls// kən nəpútəls. 'I am satisfied.' (pút 'suffice')

//lut kɬ-s-əc-n-pút-(í)ls-s// lut kscənpútəlsc. 'He is not satisfied.' (More literally, 'It is not his satisfaction.')

//əc-n-x̣l-(í)ls// cənx̣líls. 'He was thinking that.' (x̣l of uncertain meaning)

//n-x̣ilw̓-(í)ls// nəx̣əlw̓íls. 'She wants a husband.' (x̣ilw̓ 'husband')

//n-k-ʔaw-p-(í)ls// nək̓əwpíls. 'He wants to be happier.' (ʔaw 'go'; cf. sck̓əwk̓əwpnúmtx. 'He's feeling lonesome.')

//n-ʔayx̣ʷ-t-(í)ls// nəʔayxʷtíls. 'He's feeling tired.' (ʔayx̣ʷ 'tired')

//kʷ n-xʷl-xʷal-t-(í)ls// kʷ nəxʷəlxʷəltíls. 'You want to stay alive.' (xʷal 'live')

//stím̓ an-s-əc-n-q̓i?-(í)ls// stím̓ ascənq̓ə?íls. 'What's on your mind?' (stím̓ 'what?'; q̓i? 'trouble')

3.362. //-(í)ls// may be affixed to middle stems.

//kʷ n-kax-m-(í)ls// kʷ nəkxmíls. 'You want to follow along.' (kax [illegible]lk')

//s-əc-n-kax-m-(í)ls-xx// scənkxmílsx. 'He is thinking of going along.' (absolute-actual-locative-walk-middle-state of mind-progressive)

//s-kʷilx-m-(í)ls// nəkʷəlxmíls. 'He wants to leave.' kʷilx 'leave')

//p s-əc-n-six̣l-m-(í)ls-xx// p scənsx̣əlmílsx. 'You are in the mood to move away.' (you pl. absolute-actual-locative-move-middle-state of mind-progressive)

3.363. Intransitive state-of-mind words can undergo an additional derivational cycle, that characteristic of all intransitive bases. They can receive further affixes to form middle and transitive stems. There seem to be no grammatical restrictions on this type of secondary derivation, but further research may disclose some.

//kn n-x̣as-t-(í)ls-m-í-sût// kən nəx̣stəlsmíst. 'I am satisfied.' (I locative-good-stative-state of mind-middle-secondary-reflexive)

//n-pút-(í)ls-m-n-t-(í)m// nəpûtəlsəməntəm. 'He is feeling satisfied with it.' (locative-suffice-state of mind-middle-active-transitive-indefinite)

//n-k̓ʷʔ-(í)ls-n-t-sút// nək̓ʷəˀəlsəncút. 'He started to get cross.' (locative-?-state of mind-active-transitive-reflexive)

//kʷu n-xʔ-(í)ls-m-n-t-(í)m// kʷu nəxəˀílsəməntəm. 'Someone is getting tired of us.' (we locative-?-state of mind-middle-active-transitive-indefinite)

//əc-k̓i-k̓-t-(í)ls-s-t-(í)s-lx// ck̓ək̓ətílscəlx. 'It came to their minds.' (actual-near [intensive, cf. 3.2132]-state of mind-causative-transitive-3rd person-plural)

This example is the only case recorded which lacks the locative prefix; its absence may be conditioned by the causative suffix.

3.37. Aspectual affixes. In this section are discussed two prefixes and one suffix which function as part of the aspectual system. Other aspect markers are two particles (cf. 4.45 and 4.4221), and one infix (3.22).

3.371. Unrealized. All unrealized words are intransitive. //kɨ-// 'unrealized aspect' marks the action, state, or entity it refers to as not yet realized. The ɨ of kɨ- is lost before a stem beginning in s_ (this loss is very common because kɨ- so often occurs before absolutive stems, formed with the prefix s-; cf. 3.32); the two absolutive pronouns //in-// and //an-// lose their n before //kɨ-// (cf. 2.524).[10]

//kɨ-// is involved in several types of constructions: (a) together with absolutive pronouns,

//in-kɨ-s-qltmíxʷ// iksqəltmíxʷ. 'He's my husband-to-be.' (Cf. kən sqəltmíxʷ 'I am a man'; kən ksqəltmíxʷ 'I have a man/husband.' [kɨ- 'possessive'; cf. 3.384])

//an-kɨ-citxʷ// akɨcítxʷ. 'These are the materials with which your house will be built.' ('your-unrealized-house')

(b) together with absolutive pronouns and primary reference pronouns,

//kʷ in-kɨ-s-qltmíxʷ// kʷ iksqəltmíxʷ. 'You are my husband-to-be.'

(c) together with the inchoative marker //-x-aʔ-x// (and primary reference pronouns; cf. 3.372)[11]

//kn kɬ-s-ʔiɬn-x-aʔ-x// kən ksəʔíɬənaʔx. 'I am about to eat.' (Cf. kən ksəʔíɬən 'I have food'; iksəʔíɬən 'that's what I am going to eat'; kʷ iksəʔíɬən 'I am going to eat you.')

3.372. Progressive and inchoative. The progressive suffix is //-xx//. The infixation of //-aʔ-// 'diminutive' to //-xx// yields //-x-aʔ-x// 'inchoative' (cf. 3.33). (For morphophonemic details, cf. 2.546. Also, 3.22.)

//-xx// 'progressive' performs several functions, the most prominent of which is reflected by the label assigned to it.

(a) It denotes action in progress; always cooccurring with the absolute mode prefix //s-// (3.32), and often with the actual aspect prefix //əc-// (3.373) as well.

//s-əc-k̓ʷúl̓-xx// sck̓ʷúl̓əx. 'He is working.'

//s-cú-t-xx// scútx. 'He was saying.'

(b) It corresponds to the various English suffixes -ite, -er, -an, of forms such as New Yorker, Chicagoan, etc.

//s-k̓ʷtíkn-xx// sk̓ʷətíkenx. 'He is a Seattleite.'

(c) It corresponds to the English 'one (who is)' as in:

//s-xʔít-xx// sxəʔítx. 'He is the oldest one.'

//s-wiy-nú-m-t-xx// swəynúmtx. 'He is the handsome one.'

(d) It denotes a state or condition, as in:

//s-əc-wix-xx// scwíxəx. 'He is living.'

//s-ʔácqaʔ-xx// səʔácqaʔx. 'He's staying out.'

//-x-aʔ-x// is the inchoative marker. Its function is to indicate that an action is about to begin; it often occurs in connection with the unrealized aspect prefix //kɬ-// (3.371).

//kʷu kɬ-s-xʷúy̓-x-aʔ-x// kʷu ksxʷúy̓aʔx. 'We are about to go.'

//kn kɬ-s-cʕawlx-x-aʔ-x// kən kscʕáwəlxaʔx. 'I am about to bathe.'

//s-xʷar-p-m-í-x-aʔ-x// sxʷərpmíxaʔx. 'He is beginning to shake.'

//s-əc-ʕ̓aw̓-p-m-í-x-aʔ-x// scʕ̓aw̓əpmíxaʔx. 'It's beginning to droop.'

However, in some cases, the meaning is extended or more difficult to characterize. In the following examples the common denominator would seem to be 'at the beginning of...'

//s-wiy-nú-m-t-x-aʔ-x// swəynúmtaʔx. 'He is rather handsome.' (Cf. swəynúmtx 'he is the handsome one.')

//s-tʔíwt-x-aʔ-x// stəʔíwtaʔx. 'He is quite young. (Cf. stəʔíwtx. 'He is young.')

//s-xʔít-x-aʔ-x// sxəʔítaʔx. 'He is rather old.' (Cf. sxəʔít. 'He is old' ; sxəʔítx. 'He is the first, the eldest.')

Thus it is interesting to note that in Colville 'less handsome' is to 'handsome' as 'younger' is to 'young', and as 'old' is to 'older'.

3.373. Actual. The actual aspect prefix is //əc-//. It refers to an action, entity or state obtaining at a particular main time or situation of reference. The ə of [əc-] is always lost word-internally; it is optionally retained after pause, in which case a glottal stop automatically precedes it. c- and stem-initial ʔ combine to yield c̓ (cf. sections 2.521 and 2.522).

//əc-ʔácqaʔ// c̓ácqaʔ ~ ʔəc̓ácqaʔ. 'He is actually out.' (ʔácqaʔ 'he went out.')

//əc-ʕác̓-n-t-(í)s// cʕác̓əs ~ ʔəcʕác̓əs. 'He watches it.' (ʕác̓əs 'he watched it.')

//əc-n-st-(í)ls// cənstíls ~ ʔəcənstíls. 'He actually thinks that...' (nəstíls 'he thought.')

//əc-k̓ʷúl̓// ck̓ʷúl̓ ~ ʔəck̓ʷúl̓. 'He actually works.' (k̓ʷúl̓ 'he works.')

3.38. Intransitive derivations. In addition to the derivations already discussed, a number of derivations apply to either intransitive or middle stems, to form intransitive words. In all such cases personal reference is regularly indicated by means of either the primary reference pronouns, or the absolutive pronouns.

3.381. Preferential-customary. The inherently stressed suffix //-ímn// is added to intransitive or middle stems to form a preferential-customary word.

//kən pix̣-m-ímn// kən px̣mímən. 'I like to hunt' or 'I hunt often/all the time.' (middle stem)

//captikʷl-ímn// captkʷlímən. 'He likes to tell stories' or 'He tells stories often.' (intransitive stem)

//kʷil̓-s-t-n-ímn// kʷəl̓əstnímən. 'He likes to go to the sweat-house' or 'He goes to the sweat-house all the time.' (intransitive stem)

3.382. Developmentals. The inherently stressed suffix //-wílx// is attached to intransitive (but not middle) stems to form developmentals.

//kn pax̣-pax̣-t-wílx// kən px̣px̣twílx. 'I got wise.' (pax̣ 'think')

//x̣as-t-wílx// x̣stwílx. 'He got better.' (x̣as 'good')

//s-t̓aʔk̓míx-wílx-s// st̓aʔk̓əmxəwílxs. 'She has grown into a woman.' (t̓aʔk̓míx 'woman')

3.383. Frequentatives. The inherently stressed suffix //-lwís// is attached to intransitive or middle stems. It is usually glossed 'all over, over and over, a lot'.

kən ƛúxʷt. 'I go in the brush.' (intransitive stem)
kən łxʷtəlwís. 'I go all around in the brush.'

cxʷúy̓. 'He goes.' (intransitive stem)
cxʷəy̓əlwís. 'He travels around a lot.'

k̓ərə́m. 'He swims.' (middle stem)
k̓ərəməlwís. 'He swims all over.'

3.384. Possessives. The possessive prefix is //kł-//, with regular variant [k-] before stems beginning with s- (2.524). It is prefixed to intransitive stems only. The possessor of the item in question is always expressed by means of a primary reference pronoun, in contrast with //kł-// 'unrealized aspect', which is always accompanied by an absolutive pronoun (3.371).

//kn kł-tkłmílxʷ// kən kłtkłmílxʷ. 'I have a woman/wife.'
//kł-pús// kłpús. 'He has a cat.'

//kʷ kł-s-qltmíxʷ// kʷ ksqəltmíxʷ. 'You have a man/husband.'

3.39. Diminutive infixation. The diminutive //-aʔ-//[12] is infixed between the two consonants of a lexical suffix:

//n-xʷy̓-xʷúy̓-ít-aʔ-kʷ// nəxʷəy̓əxʷəy̓ítaʔkʷ. 'It's Meteor.' (place name, literally, 'where the little waters go'; xʷúy̓ 'go', -ítkʷ 'water'--reference to a place where several creeks converge)

//k-caʔ-caʔ-ál-aʔ-qʷ-m// kcaʔcaʔálaʔqʷəm. 'He knocked at the tipi poles.' (k- 'directive' [3.242], caʔ 'hit', -álqʷ 'cylindrical objects')

The same element //-aʔ-// is also infixed between the two consonants of //-xx// 'progressive'. The resulting form //x-aʔ-x// is the inchoative marker. For examples and pertinent discussion cf. sections 3.372.

Occasionally -aʔ- is found infixed in a root, as in //s-qʷs-qʷ-aʔ-s-íyaʔ// sqʷsqʷaʔsíyaʔ. 'They are little children.' (Cf. sqʷəíʔ 'he's the son'; sqʷsqʷsíʔ 'they are children.' The element -íyaʔ is not well understood; it probably contains a pluralizing marker -iy- and the suffix //-aʔ// discussed in footnote 6.

3.4. Compounds consist of at least two roots, usually connected by a formative morpheme, and optional affixes.

3.41. Compounds are fairly rare in Colville and at the present time are imperfectly understood. All compounds discussed in this section contain two roots.

The following general principles seem to prevail: primary stress is never on the first member of the compound; regular stress placement rules apply to the second member of the compound and its affixes. The first member of the compound may or may not retain a full (but unstressed) vowel, depending on the make-up of the second member. If the second member of the compound contains a stress retentive root, or an inherently stressed suffix, then the vowel of the first member is deleted; otherwise it is retained, but unstressed.

Some compounds require a connecting morpheme. Two such morphemes have been identified: //-ɬ-// and //-aʔ-//. The rules that govern the use of these compound formatives are not fully understood.

//kʷu taxʷ-ɬ-x̣ʷíc-(ú)laxʷ-t-n// kʷu txʷɬx̣ʷíclaxʷtən.
'We obtained machinery.' (we obtain-formative-work-
-earth-stative-instrumental)

//taxʷ-ɬ-sp-q(í)n-t-n// taxʷɬspqíntən. 'They obtained threshers.' (obtain-formative-beat-head-stative-instrumental)

//kʷ əc-miy-ɬ-q̓ay̓-m-í-n// kʷ cməyɬq̓əy̓əmín. 'You know how to write.' (you actual-know-formative-write-middle-secondary-instrumental)

//s-k̓ʷúl̓-ckʷín̓k-s// sk̓ʷəl̓əckʷín̓əks. 'It's the bow he made.' (absolute-make-bow-his)

//n-ʔiɬn-aʔ-s-qilxʷ-t-n// nəʔɬnaʔsqílxʷtən. 'He's a cannibal.' (locative-eat-formative-absolute-person/Indian-stative-instrumental)

3.42. Numeral compounds form a subset of the broader class of compounds. They are based on ten numerals, of which some are partially analyzable.

náqs 'one'
ʔasíl 'two'
kaʔɬís 'three'
mús 'four'
cílkst 'five' (//cíl-(í)kst// '?- hand')
t̓áq̓əmkst 'six' (//t̓ág̓-m-(í)kst// 'cross-middle-hand')
sísp̓əlk̓ 'seven'
tímɬ 'eight'
x̣əx̣ n̓út 'nine' (//x̣-/xn̓út// 'diminutive- ?')
ʔúpənkst 'ten' (//ʔúpn-(í)kst// '?- 'hand')

Numbers eleven to nineteen are formed by adding the digits 1-9 to *ʔúpənkst* 'ten' (in first position), with the connecting morpheme //-ł-//. The stress of *ʔúpənkst* is reduced to weak (but the full vowel is retained), while stress on the following digit remains primary. For example,

ʔupənkstłəʔasíl 'twelve'
ʔupənkstłmús 'fourteen'

Multiples of ten reverse the order, placing the digit first; in addition most of these digits appear in special allomorphs; in one case //-ł-// 'formative' is deleted. Stress remains primary on *ʔúpənkst*, and is reduced to weak on the preceding digit, while vowels remain full (however, the allomorph of *x̣əx̣ n̓út* 'nine' in these forms is *x̣əx̣ən̓*, without a full vowel).

ʔasələʔúpənkst	'twenty'
kaləłəʔúpənkst	'thirty'
musłəʔúpənkst	'forty'
cilkłəʔúpənkst	'fifty'
t̓aq̓əmłəʔúpənkst	'sixty'
sisp̓əlk̓əłəʔúpənkst	'seventy'
timłəʔúpənkst	'eighty'
x̣əx̣ən̓əłəʔúpənkst	'ninety'

Intermediate numbers above twenty are formed analogously to 11-19, based on the above. Stress is primary on the last digit, is reduced to secondary on *ʔúpənkst*, and remains weak on the first digit.

ʔasələʔúpənkstɬəʔasíl	'twenty-two'
musɬəʔúpənkstɬsísp̓əlk̇	'forty-seven'

Finally, the numeral 100 is *x̣əcəcíkst*.

Numeral stems exhibit a propensity for compounding and for lexical affixation.

nəqsqáx̣aʔ.	'There's one horse.'
ʔasələʔíwɬ.	'There are two boats.'
kaʔɬláyq̣ən.	'There are three heads.'
kən muspústxən.	'I jump four times.'
knáq̣s.	'It's one person.'
k̓əsəʔasíl.	'They are two persons.'
tkaʔkaʔɬís.	'They are three persons.'
kən knáʔnaqs.	'I am all alone.'

The last four examples contain the numeral classifier //k-// 'person'. Its morphophonemics are discussed in sections 2.522 and 2.523.

In the following charts, prefixes and suffixes are listed (in underlying form) according to their position relative to the root, proceeding from the closest to the farthest.

PREFIXES

1. lexical prefixes

2. c- directional 'cislocative'
    kɨ- directional 'down'
    kɨ- directional 'around, under'
    ɬ- directive
    k- personal

3. ɨ- directional 'back'

4. əc- actual aspect

5. n- locative

6. s- absolute mode

7. kɨ- possessive
    kɨ- unrealized aspect

8. absolutive pronoun prefixes

INFIXES

1. -ʔ- inchoative

2. -aʔ- diminutive

SUFFIXES

1. -p non-control
   -m primary formative

2. lexical suffixes

3. -nú- success

4. -m middle

5. -í- secendary formative
   -t stative

6. -n- active
   -s- causative
   -ɬ- expressed goal
   -x(í)- benefactive

7. -t transitive

8. transitive pronouns

9. -sút reflexive

10. -íʔ transitive imperative plural
-x intransitive imperative singular
-wiʔ intransitive imperative plural

11. -nwíxʷ reciprocal
-ímn preferential-habitual
-(í)ls desiderative
-wílx developmental
-n instrumental

12. -xx progressive
absolutive pronoun suffixes

13. -lx plural

Footnotes

[1] //-lx// has the broader function of third person plural marker. With intransitive and middle forms it refers to the actor; with transitive forms it refers to the recipient (see sections 3.112 and 3.131).

[2] This form is tentatively analyzed //cú-t// 'say-stative'. //-t// seems to be of a broader scope than its label implies.

[3] The workings of //-í-// are not fully understood. The sporadic glottalization of m preceding it has been observed; some cases of unstressed i have also been observed. For example,

//wíkʷ// hide
kən wíkʷm̓ist 'I am hiding.'
kən wəkʷmíst 'I'm keeping a secret.'

Note that these forms are intransitive, and, presumably both reflexive (cf. 3.33).

[4] The root //ʔaw// is different from, although related to, the root //k̓áw// of similar meaning, exemplified elsewhere in this study. Reduplicated forms confirm this analysis.

k̓əwk̓áwəlx. 'They are all gone.'
ʔawəʔawcíncən. 'I went to talk to you.'

[5] In addition to the reduplicative prefix under discussion there is a prefix //həł-// 'homogeneous group' which derives iteratives.

həłsqʷsíʔs. 'They are all his sons.'
həłsənk̓əlíp. 'They are the members of the Coyote family.'

[6] The suffix //-aʔ// is of uncertain meaning. It may be a lexical suffix meaning 'living being' or 'concrete entity'. Cf. the following:

sámaʔ. 'He is a Frenchman.'
łqáqcaʔ. 'He is the older brother.'
mílaʔ. 'It's bait.' (live?)
qʷəqʷc̓əw̓íyaʔ. 'It's a chipmunk.'
sx̣áx̣paʔ. 'He is the grandfather.'
qáqənaʔ. 'She is the grandmother.'
t̓aʔt̓úpaʔ. 'He is the great-frandfather.'
síncaʔ. 'He is the younger brother.'
sx̣áʔx̣aʔ. 'He is the father-in-law.'
-qáx̣aʔ (lexical suffix) 'animal'

But cf.

q̓ípxʷaʔ. 'It's a nut.'
ʔítxʷaʔ. 'It's black camas.'

[7] The more revealing label, 'absolute mode' is adopted here from L.C. Thompson in seminar discussions.

[8] It is noteworthy that the roots which appear with the purposive suffix are most frequent with transitive inflection.

[9] See footnote 2.

[10] //kł-// may possibly be analyzed as consisting of the directive //k-// and the subordinating sequential //ł//, containing a notion 'potential-directive'. Forms with //kł-//, however, may also contain a separate //k-// 'directive', as in //kn kł-s-k-tar̓q-x-aʔ-x// kən ksktár̓əqaʔx. 'I'm going to jump.'

[11] Inchoatives always contain the absolute mode prefix //s-//, that is, the ł of kł- is always lost. Nonetheless one would not want to analyze these forms as containing a different prefix *//ks-//, or //k-//.

[12] Attention is drawn to the similarities this infix bears to the inchoative infix //-ʔ-// (3.22). Further study may prove the two forms to be different surface realizations of the same underlying form.

4. Syntax

Colville sentences may be simple, compound, and complex. Simple sentences consist of a single clause; compound sentences of two or more independent clauses; complex sentences of two or more clauses, of which at least one has to be a dependent clause. Sentences that can occur as opening sentences in some independent utterance are independent; those that cannot are dependent. Dependent sentences include responses to questions, continuations of the thoughts of another speaker (e.g. reactions to comments, commands, accusations, etc.), and continuations of the speaker's own thoughts following an opening sentence. (Sentences left unfinished or otherwise elliptical are fragmentary.)

A clause consists of a predicate and, optionally, one or more complements. An independent clause is one that can stand alone and function as a (simple) independent sentence; other clauses are dependent. Dependent clauses normally cooccur with an independent clause in a complex sentence.

A predicate is the essential component of a clause, i.e. its head. It consists of an independent word (with or without affixes) and optional particles. Ordinarily it is clause-initial.

A complement is the predicate's optional dependent in a clause. It follows the predicate to expand it, complete it, or explain it. It consists of one or more independent words and optional particles.

4.1. Words. Colville exhibits two main word types: particles and independent words. Each constitutes a separate syntactic class, defined by privileges of occurrence within a clause.

Particles are dependent words. They cannot occur as heads of predicates and complements. The syntactic class of particles is not a phonologically homogeneous set. Although for the most part particles do not occur with primary stress, on certain occasions certain particles are so stressed. They are of three types: predicative particles, clause particles, and complement particles.

In all cases the function of a particle is defined by its maximum possible immediate constituent partner. Each particle has its typical position in a fixed order with reference to the head of the construction. Preposed particles are the norm in Colville; exceptionally particles that are usually preposed can occur postpositionally (cf. 3.1722).

Independent words are the predicative elements of the language. Most of them have extensive inflectional and derivational patterns, as described in Chapter 3.

4.2. Predicates. The simplest Colville words are intransitive and refer to states, activities, entities, without necessary overt reference to particular persons, times, and places.

píq. 'It's white.'
t̓íc̓. 'It's pitch.', 'There is pitch.'
xʷúy̓. 'He went.'

More complex are middle and transitive words.

xʷúy̓əm. 'He leads.' (middle)
xʷúy̓əsc. 'He takes him there.' (transitive)

Reference to persons is added to words by various pronominal elements. They are of various types, from affixes to full words, discussed and exemplified in sections 3.111, 3.112, 3.131, and 3.17.

4.21. Distribution of words as predicates. All Colville full words are basically predicative. By themselves they may constitute complete sentences. When they cooccur with other words they may function as predicates or as complements: they may be expanded by following complements, or they themselves may follow a predicate and constitute complements.

4.211. Intransitive and middle words are conjugated with either the primary reference pronouns, or with the absolutive pronouns.

Words accompanied by primary referent pronouns usually occur in the predicate slot and can be expanded by positional complements and by other complements marked by complement particles (see 4.32).

x̣íƛ̓əm susàp. 'Joseph climbed the hill.'
kən xʷúy̓ k̓əl-cítxʷs. 'I went to his house.'
ʔáyxʷt incàʔ. 'I am tired.'
kən ʔáyxʷt təl anwìʔ. 'I am tired of you.'

Words accompanied by the absolutive pronoun affixes may be followed by positional complements (otherwise unmarked):

inx̣mínk susàp. 'I like Joseph.'

But more often they occur in the complement slot:

wíkən anpùs. 'I saw your cat.'

4.212. Transitive words are accompanied by a transitive marker and pronominal reference is indicated with the transitive pronouns. They can be followed by complements of various sorts:

ckím̓əsc x̣əl ʔaxàʔ. 'He dislikes him because of that.'
wíkəntxʷ ʕàpnaʔ. 'You can see it now.'

The most common kind of complement with transitive predicates specifies a goal.

cús sənk̓əlìp. 'He told Coyote.'

Sentences of this type may be expanded further by an instrumental complement:

cús sənk̓əlip t nəqìlxʷcən. 'He told Coyote in Indian.'

If an agent is expressed, then it occurs (exceptionally) sentence-initially, followed by the relativizing particle kiʔ (4.414).

t səmx̣íkən kiʔ cus sənk̓əlip t nəqìlxʷcən. '(It was) Grizzly (who) told Coyote in the Indian language.'

(See section 4.33 for further discussion of this type of construction.)

In the third person indefinite recipient construction (3.132), if an agent is to be expressed, that is accomplished by means of an agentive complement, as in

cúntəm t incàʔ. 'Someone was told by me.'

cúntəm t cnìɬc. 'Someone was told by him.'

But the recipient cannot be further marked in the same sentence; it is either clear in the context or it is truly indefinite ('someone').

4.22. Predicative particles. In addition to the pronominal particles, which belong to the system just summarized, there exist in Colville a few other predicative particles--

i.e. particles always found in IC partnership with a predicate. These particles add to the predicate various notions: emphatic, exceptional, intensive, etc. They differ from pronominal particles on one further account: whereas pronominal particles are clitics, these other predicative particles can, and do on occasion, have their own stress.

4.221. Evidential. The function of //t̓i// 'evidential' is to add to the predicate a notion of evidential emphasis, while it relieves the speaker of any responsibility about or control over the action or situation. Thus the resulting predicate singles out an event, state, or activity as observable; the semantic import of t̓i is, approximately, 'as it appears, as one can see (but I cannot be held responsible for it)'. (For morphophonemic details on t̓i see 2.51)

t̓i stət̓əpínaʔk. 'He was somewhat pot-bellied.'
t̓i x̣ást ɬ xʷíc̓əxəməntəm. 'It's best that we give it away.'
lut kən t̓ə c̓əkínəm, wáy̓ t̓i kən x̣ást. 'There is nothing wrong with me, as you can see I'm quite OK.'

The last example shows t̓i in two different positions--first in IC partnership with c̓əkínəm, then with kən x̣ást. Typically, primary reference pronouns precede t̓i when in construction with the negative lút. It may then be possible to interpret the pronoun (like kən here) as being used postpositionally in relation to the base lút. This may be a relic of an original postpositive pronominal system, similar forms of which are still observable in related languages.

There is another aspect of the use of t̓i in negative sentences. Compare

lut t̓ aksxʷúy̓. 'You will not go!'
lut aksxʷúy̓. 'You will not go.'

Whereas lut aksxʷúy̓ is a simple statement merely asserting that the person addressed will not go, lut t̓ aksxʷúy̓ has emphatic force by virtue of the evidential t̓i: 'As you can understand / for reasons that should be clear to you, you won't go.' Note further that t̓ aksxʷúy̓ and aksxʷúy̓ in these examples function as positional complements.

4.222. Contrastive. A predicate constructed with //k̓m// 'contrastive' refers to an action, state, situation or activity that is singled out as exceptional to or in contrast with an expressed norm. Thus k̓əm is usually glossed into English as 'except', 'all but'.

ksx̣stwílsx; k̓əm skʷƛ̓úsc. 'He was healing (in general); [but] his face wasn't.'
ƛ̓áxʷt ʔi sqʷsqʷsíʔs; k̓əm k̓əsəʔasíl. 'His children were dead; except for two who weren't.'
k̓əm cxʷəlxʷált. 'He is the only one alive.'

4.223. Unsuccessful. A predicate with //ʔiwaʔ// 'unsuccessful' refers to an action or activity that is pointed out as extreme, or intense, but unsuccessful. ʔiwaʔ is often glossed in English by the informants as 'even', but in most cases it would seem more accurately rendered as 'even ... but to no avail'. Examples:

ʔiwáʔ píx̣əməlx.	'They hunted, but unsuccessfully.'
ʔiwáʔ síwəntəm.	'He was asked, but to no avail.
ʔiwáʔ cˤáċəs.	'He looked and looked, [but couldn't see].'

4.3. Complements. Complements follow the predicate to expand it, clarify it, or add to it.

4.31. Positional complements. The simplest expansions of the predicate are complements marked merely by position.

sʕáyəmc səmx̣ìkən. 'Grizzly was mad.' (sʕáyəmc predicate 'it was his being mad', səmx̣íkən complement, 'it was Grizzly')

kʷu nək̓áwl̀axʷɬtxʷ isqʷsqʷaʔsìyaʔ. 'You took every one of my little children.' (me locative-gone-earth-expressed goal-transitive-you my-children-diminutive)

xʷúy̓ patìl. 'Matilda went.'

cút sx̣əlpùʔ. 'Daylight [man's name] spoke.'

cús sx̣əlpùʔ. 'He told Daylight.'

Note that the form cús of the last example is the third person singular of the transitive paradigm (//cú-n-t-(ì)s//), whereas cút of the previous example is the general intransitive form of the primary reference paradigm.

In the sentence cús sx̣əlpùʔ, sx̣əlpúʔ is the object or goal, whereas in the sentence cút sx̣əlpùʔ, sx̣əlpúʔ is the agent. In more detail, cús contains the information that a two-party relationship is involved, with a third person singular responsible party (//-(ì)s// 'actor') and a third person object which may be further specified by a complement; cút points to a primary referent which may be further specified by the complement.

These facts are consonant with the notion that in Colville all predications refer to events, actions or situations without necessarily any reference to particular persons, time, or place; and that the inclusion of such referents implies of necessity the specification of the relationship(s) involved. We have already seen that three such basic relationships obtain in Colville; they were discussed in sections 3.111, 3.112, and 3.131, and recapitulated in section 3.171.

4.32. Marked complements. In addition to those complements that are marked only by their position following the predicate, other complements may be marked by a number of prepositive complement particles. These particles are discussed and exemplified below. Some can be further analyzed, a matter of derivation which is not discussed here except to point out certain phonological similarities in the course of the discussion. In the following chart particles are given in their underlying forms:

COMPLEMENT PARTICLES

//y̓i
ɬaʔ
ɬ

l
t, tl
k̓, k̓l
x̣l
laʔɬ//

4.321. Definite. //y̓i// 'definite' functions somewhat like an article in Western European languages. Its use is optional with complements, except for certain definable cases in which it is not permissible. When y̓i is preposed to a complement it signals a definite referent; otherwise the referent is indefinite. Exceptions are proper nouns (personaland geographic) and non-third person absolutive forms, which may not be preceded by y̓i. It should not be concluded, however, that to each possible complement marked by y̓i corresponds naturally an indefinite unmarked complement, or vice versa. This is not an essential dichotomy in Colville. It is true that to the sentence

wíkən sqìlxʷ. 'I saw some people.'

corresponds a sentence

wíkən y̓i sqìlxʷ. 'I saw the/those people.'

But this fact may not seem very meaningful to a Colville speaker, nor the observation a very insightful one. He may in fact point out that other Colville sentences may express contrasts that are much more significant; for example,

sqílxʷ kiʔ wìkən. 'It was people I saw.'
wíkən ʔaxaʔ y̓i sqílxʷ. 'I saw those (obviative) people.'
wíkən ʔixiʔ y̓i sqílxʷ. 'I saw these (proximate) people.'
ʔixíʔ y̓i sqílxʷ kiʔ wíkən. 'It was those people that I saw.'

and, besides many others, he may even point out a sentence with the complement in emphatic position (see 4.33),

y̓i sqílxʷ kiʔ wìkən, (lut y̓i suyápix). 'It was Indians I saw, (not white people).'

Further examples:

xʷəʔít y̓i sqìlxʷ. 'There are many people.' (many definite person/Indian)
sqít y̓i skʷisc. 'What's his name)' (who definite name-his)
tkìmílxʷ y̓i st̓əmkəʔìlc. 'His daughter is a woman [not a girl].' (woman definite daughter-his)
ʔaxáʔ y̓i st̓aʔk̓əmix. 'This is the girl.' (this-obviative defínite maiden)

y̓i may cooccur with other complement particles (as can be inferred from observing the chart above), but its function remains essentially intact.. For example,

ʔaxáʔ y̓i təl scənəʔùɬxʷs. 'It's right inside the door.' (this-obviative definite ablative absolute-actual-locative-enter-3rd person')

cwíltəm ʔaxaʔ y̓i təl tkaʔkaʔɬís. 'He had children from these three persons [women].' (//cəw-(í)lt-m ʔax-aʔ y̓i tl k-kaʔkaʔɬís// 'beget(?)-children-middle these-obviative definite ablative person-three-three')

4.322. Sequential. //ɬ// and //ɬaʔ// are sequential complement particles. They are both subordinating particles, but whereas ɬaʔ conveys the notion of temporal sequence, ɬ does not. Thus it is possible to say that ɬ is the subordinating element, and -aʔ the temporal. Contrast the following sentences:

way̓ x̣ást ɬ kʷ cxʷùy̓. 'It's good if/that you come.'

way̓ x̣ást ɬaʔ kʷ cxʷùy̓. 'It will be good when/after you come.'

In these sentences ɬ and ɬaʔ are found in IC partnership with the complement. Note, however, that different partnerships are involved in the two sentences

way̓ x̣ást kʷ ɬ cxʷùy̓. 'It's good if/that you come.'

way̓ x̣ást kʷ ɬaʔ cxʷùy̓. 'It'll be good when you will have come.'

Here the complements *ɬ cxʷúy̓* and *ɬaʔ cxʷúy̓* are embedded in the larger complements *kʷ ɬ cxʷúy̓* and *kʷ ɬaʔ cxʷúy̓*, respectively. These constructions seem to emphasize the pronominal element(s) in the complement. The flavor of these sentences can perhaps be conveyed by the following paraphrases:

'It's good if (when) you come.'

'That you eventually (will sometime) come, is good.'

Further examples of *ɬ* and *ɬaʔ* are:

q̓əsápiʔ ɬaʔ cpùlxəlx. 'It was a long time before they camped.' (//q̓ás-p-iʔ ɬ-aʔ əc-púlx-lx// 'old-noncontrol-past sequential-temporal actual-camp-plural')

c̓əpxíɬ məypnus ɬ kscxʷəlxìsc. 'That's how he learned to get around.' (//əc-ʔx̣íɬ miy-p-nú-n-t-(í)s ɬ kɬ-s-cxʷ-lwís-s// 'actual-be-so know-noncontrol-success-active-transitive-he sequential unrealized-absolute-go-around-his')

məypnúntəm y̓i t ɬkìkxaʔs ɬ st̓ìxʷəxʷələms. 'Her older sister realized that she [the younger sister] was different.' (//miy-p-nú-n-t-(í)m y̓i t ɬkíkxaʔ-s ɬ s-t̓íxʷxʷlm-s// 'know-noncontrol-success-active-transitive-indefinite definite agent older sister-hers sequential absolute-different-hers')

Characteristically, *ɬ* occurs after the restricted deictic words *ʔixíʔ* and *ʔaxáʔ* (4.5151). These cases are equivalent to 'it was there/then that ...' For example,

ʔixìʔ sənháʔəlsc; ʔixìʔ ɬ ɬxʷúy̓əs. 'That's when he became angry; that's when he took him back.' [//ʔix-íʔ s-n-háʔ-(í)ls-s ʔix-íʔ ɬ ɬ-xʷúy̓-n-t-(í)s// 'it was then-proximate absolute-locative-anger-state of mind-his it was then-proximate sequential back-go-active-transitive-he')

In two different versions of the same text I have found the following two sentences:

a. myàɬ kən ʔáyx̣ʷt kən ɬaʔ cknànaqs. 'I am too tired of being alone.'

b. wày̓ kən ʔáyx̣ʷt kən ɬ cknànaqs. 'I am too tired of being alone.'

these are linguistically different sentences and careful English translations should attempt to reflect grammatically this fact. The following glosses may suggest more of the different flavor of the two sentences:

a. 'I have been alone so long, I am tired of it.'

b. 'I am alone and I am tired of it (already).'

4.323. Locational. //l// is the locational complement particle. It means, roughly, 'point of time or place at which ...', 'point of reference in time or place'. Indeed, the concepts of time and space in Colville are found to be inextricably interrelated; this is reflected most transparently in the organization and function of deictic elements, a brief discussion of which is presented in section 4.515.

kłtk̓ʷəntísəlx lə p̓ùyxən. 'They put him down in the car.' (//kł-tk̓ʷ-n-t-(í)s-lx l p̓úy-x(á)n// 'down-put-active-transitive-3rd person-plural locational wrinkle-feet')

yaʔyáʕ̓ət p nəyáʕ̓ lə cìtxʷ. 'Gather together, all you people, in the house.' (//yʕ̓-yáʕ-t p n-yáʕ̓ l cítxʷ// 'gather-gather-stative you pl. locative-gather locational house')

xʷúy̓ lə sənkʷəkʷəʔàc. 'He went in the night.'

In addition *l* is found to occur in extended uses; for example,

ʔixíʔ ck̓ʷúləmscəlx lə x̣w̓aw̓ y̓i słìqʷ. 'That's what they do when they dry meat.' (//ʔix-íʔ əc-k̓ʷúl-m-s-t-(í)s-lx l x̣aw̓-w̓ y̓i słíqʷ// 'it is this-proximate actual-make-middle-causative-transitive-3rd person-plural locational dry-dry definite meat')

The form *la* is a morphophonemic variant of //l//, the conditioning factors for which are phonological (cf. 2.512).

An element *l* identified as the same *l* of the locational particle is present in the two directional particles //tl// 'ablative' and //k̓l// 'allative' (cf. sections 4.3242 and 4.325). It is not fruitful to elaborate on the derivational processes involved with these two particles, although it is appropriate to point out the obvious phonological and semantic connections; thus //tl// and //k̓l// will be treated as independent particles, though related to //t// and //k̓//.

4.324. Source complements.

4.3241. Agent-instrument. The particle //t// shows point of departure, source of action, and, figuratively, point of view.

As an agentive particle, t occurs in sentences that when translated "literally" into English are rendered as passive sentences. In each case there exist two Colville sentences, one that appears passive, another active. For example,

cúntəm t wàpupxən ... 'Lynx told him ...' ('He was told by Lynx ...')

cút wàpupxən ... 'Lynx said ...'

(For related discussion, cf. section 4.31.) Further examples:

way̓ xʷaʔspíntk kiʔ ctxt̓àməlx y̓i t səsìʔs. 'It's many years that her uncle has been taking care of them.' (//wáy̓ xʷaʔ-s-píntk kiʔ əc-k-xát̓-m-lx y̓i t səsíʔ-s// 'it is so many-absolute-year relative actual-directive-handle-middle-plural definite agent uncle-hers')

lut t̓i cməystín kiʔ kʷu kìcs t naspəpàsəs. 'I don't know when (that) Sea Gull got to me.' (//lút t̓i əc-miy-s-t-(í)n kiʔ kʷu kíc-n-t-(í)s t naspəpásəs// 'not evidential actual-know-causative-transitive-I relative me reach-active-transitive-he agent Sea Gull')

t is also found in complements that are dominated by a number of specific items such as those listed below, which seem to involve in their semantics a notion of manipulation, and sometimes of instrumentality.

k̓ʷúl̓əməlx y̓i t ksənx̣əwiłc̓àtənsəlx. 'They fix a scaffold to dry meat.'

stxt̓əmíx y̓i t sk̓ʷək̓ʷìməlt. 'She was pregnant with a baby.'

kən ksckʷúm y̓i t akłc̓ìtxʷ,ˀuł y̓i t aksc̓ìłən, ˀuł y̓i t akłṭəmtmùtən. 'I have kept some poles for your house, and food for you, and clothes for you.' (//kn kł-s-əc-kʷúm y̓i t an-kł-citxʷ ˀuł y̓i t an-kł-s-əc-ˀiłn ˀuł y̓i t an-kł-tm-tmútn// 'I possessive-absolute-actual-store definite instrument your-unrealized-house and definite your-unrealized-absolute-actual-eat and definite instrument your-unrealized-clothes')

4.3242. Ablative. //tl// is an ablative particle, indicating 'motion from'. Examples:

kʷ scútx təl sk̓ʷətìkənx?--təl nəsq̓ʷút. 'Were you saying [that he is] from Seattle?--From across the ocean.' (//kʷ s-cú-t-xx tl sk̓ʷətíkənx tl n-sq̓ʷút// 'you absolute-speak-stative-progressive ablative Seattle ablative locative-other side of the water')

xʷaˀásq̓ət təl sckìcxs. 'It was many days after he got there.' (//xʷaˀ-(á)sq̓t tl s-ac-kícx-s// 'many-days ablative absolute-actual-arrive-his')

Two extended uses of təl, a causal and a sort of comparative, are exemplifed below.

təl náqs kiʔ kìm̓ən ʔaxaʔ isənəʔalàʔtən. 'There's one reason why I don't like my house.' (//tl naqs kiʔ kím̓-n-t-(í)n ʔax-aʔ in-s-n-ʔalaʔ-t-n// 'ablative one relative dislike-active-transitive-I this-obviative my-absolute-locative-be here-stative-instrumental')

ƛáʔ, təl isk̓íwəlx? 'Why, because I am old?' (fragmentary responsive utterance: //in-s-k̓íwl-xx// 'my-absolute-old-progressive')

sxəʔítx təl incàʔ kən. 'He is older than I am.' (//s-xʔít-xx tl incaʔ kn// 'absolute-first-progressive ablative me I')

4.325. Directionals. There are in Colville two allative complement particles: //k̓// and //k̓l//. //k̓// does not refer to a specific destination, but rather to 'motion or direction towards', in contrast with //k̓l// which referes to 'motion to/into' a specific location. On occasion //k̓// and //k̓l// are used interchangeably, but this is a function of the circumstances involved in the actual situation.

k̓ incítxʷ 'to my house (towards, not necessarily into it)'

k̓əl incítxʷ 'to my house (specifically there)'

xʷət̓əpúsəsəlx k̓əl sxʷənrím. 'They started out to the doctor.'

pən̓əkín mi cxʷù̓y̓ kʷ cmìlət k̓əl cìtxʷtət? 'When are you coming to visit at our house?' (//pn-ʔkín mi c-xʷú̓y̓ kʷ əc-mìlt k̓l cítxʷ-tt// 'time-interrogative future cislocative-go you actual-visit allative house-our')

tan̓əmús k̓əl cniɬc ɬ ksxʷəy̓əlwìs y̓i t k̓əsùɬaxʷ. 'It's nothing for him to run around in the brush.' (//tan̓mús k̓l cníɬc ɬ kɬ-s-xʷú̓y̓-lwís y̓i t k̓as-(ú)ɬaxʷ// 'nothing allative him sequential unrealized-absolute-go-around definite instrumental bad-land')

4.326. Causal. The causal complement particle is //x̣l//. It introduces a complement that specifies the reason(s) for a certain state, action, feeling. We may suspect an analysis x̣-l, but no independent x̣ appears in the material.

nəɬíptəmən x̣əl stìm̓ lut iscxʷú̓y̓. 'I forget why I didn't come.' (//nɬípt-m-n-t-(í)n x̣l stím̓ lut in-s-c-xʷú̓y̓// 'forget-middle-active-transitive-I causal what not my-absolute-cislocative-go')

náq̓ʷəməntxʷ y̓i stəməlscùt; x̣əl ʔixiʔ ʔuɬ x̣ʷɬx̣ʷíɬəms t asəsìʔ. 'You stole the beads; that's why your uncle expelled you.' (//náq̓ʷ-m-n-t-(í)xʷ y̓i stəməlscút x̣l ʔix-íʔ ʔuɬ x̣ʷɬ-x̣ʷíɬ-m-n-t-(í)s t an-səsíʔ// 'take-middle-active-transitive-you definite beads causal this-proximate and throw away-middle-active-transitive-he agent your-uncle')

4.327. Comitative. //laˀɬ// 'with' is an uncommon particle and it can probably be further analyzed. Evidence at hand does not warrant this at the moment. We note, however, one element resembling phonologically the locational l, and another the sequential ɬ (cf. 4.323 and 4.322).

kmix wápupxən y̓i laˀɬ sk̓ʷùmalt. 'There is only Lynx with the virgin.' (only Lynx definite with virgin)

t x̣ʷíx̣ʷutxən txt̓əntìs y̓i sɬəwɬwìlc y̓i laˀɬ sk̓ʷùy̓əs. 'It was Badger who took care of his nieces and his mother.' (by Badger [emphatic complement; cf. 4.33] were-taken-care-of definite nieces-his definite with mother-his')

4.33. Emphatic complements. We have seen that, normally, complements marked by particles follow the predicate in accordance with the general principle that in Colville the first element is the predicate, and following elements are complements.

However, this norm can be contravened in two clearly definable circumstances. Specifically, a complement so marked by a complement particle may be found to precede its predicate either when

(a) special rhetorical emphasis is required; or

(b) for stylistic effect its predicate is preceded by one of the clause particles *kiʔ*, *ʔuł*, *məł*. Constructions of the latter type have been presented as examples pertinent at other points of the discussion; however, they require additional comment here.

Consider the sentence

k̓əl nəspíləm kiʔ kən xʷúy̓. '[It was] to Nespelem that I went.'

The predicate *kən xʷúy̓* 'I went' is in fact relativized by means of the clause particle *kiʔ*. *k̓əl nəspíləm* does not occur as an independent sentence (*nəspíləm* by itself, of course, constitutes a full sentence 'It is Nespelem.') although it can occur as a responsive (fragmentary) utterance to the question

k̓a ʔkín kiʔ kʷ xʷúy̓? 'Where was it that you went?'

The normal reply to such a question is

k̓əl nəspíləm kiʔ kən xʷúy̓.

or, as an alternative that does not employ the use of the word *xʷúy̓* 'go',

wáy̓, k̓əl nəspíləm. 'Well, it was to Nespelem.'

The relativization of *kən xʷúy̓* in examples such as these is not obligatory, and in fact one finds

k̓əl nəspíləm kən xʷúy̓. '*To Nespelem* I went.'

but this last case is the exemplification of the emphatic use of sentence-initial complements mentioned above under (a) and it may imply a variety of factors such as:

'To Nespelem I went, [not Omak].'

'To Nespelem I went [I repeat/I swear ...].'

etc.

What needs to be said is that the sentence

kən xʷúy̓ k̓əl nəspìləm. 'I went to Nespelem.'

is the normal (basic) declarative sentence, and that the other sentences are secondary (derived) types. (In a transformational treatment, these latter would be derived from the first by means of transformations.)

4.4. Clauses. A clause contains a predicate as head. It may consist of a predicate alone, as shown by many earlier examples, or it may contain one or more complements, as in

kən xʷúy̓ k̓əl cìtxʷs. 'I go to his house.' (kən xʷúy̓ predicate 'I go'; k̓əl cítxʷs complement 'to his house')

Clauses may further be introduced by (have as their immediate constituent partner) a clause particle that modifies them in some specific way. For example,

cakʷ kən xʷúy̓ k̓əl cìtxʷs. 'I should go to his house.'

Clause particles define further clause types.[1] They are of of two types, independent clause particles, and dependent clause particles. Independent clause particles introduce clauses which may stand alone as independent sentences, simple or compound; dependent clause particles introduce dependent clauses. Clause particles are charted below (in underlying form) so as to reflect the normal order of occurrence of each particle relative to other particles.

CLAUSE PARTICLES

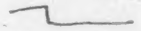
Independent clause particles	//háʔ simple interrogative	nax̣mł contrastive	ʔałíʔ causal	cm̓ probable
	ʔúc dubitative interrogative	t̓xʷ evidential	cakʷ conditional	mt conjectural
	ʔuł additive			mi future
				nixʷ additional
Dependent clause particles		mł additive		kiʔ relative
		km̓ alternative		//

4.41. Interrogative.

4.411. Simple interrogative. //háʔ// is the interrogative independent clause particle. Often, though not always, its immediate constituent partner is a whole sentence. One peculiar characteristic of háʔ is its tendency to be repeated at the end of the sentence, especially in stereotyped expressions such as

háʔ nak̓ʷəm hàʔ. 'Is that so?'

in which the predicate nák̓ʷəm is a restricted word meaning 'indeed' (4.53).

The intonation of interrogative sentences can be mapped thus:  . The pitch of the first stressed vowel is the highest in the sentence, dropping rapidly and remaining level for the rest of the utterance. Those clauses in which háʔ is both clause-initial and clause-final, exhibit a sharp rise in pitch in the last vowel. However, whereas each interrogative sentence is obligatorily marked by the interrogative contour, the use of the particle háʔ is optional.

(Morphophonemic note: when háʔ occurs before a word beginning with a, the glottal stop is usually lost, with a resulting long a.)

Examples of initial háʔ in a dependent, responsive, or in a fragmentary sentence:

háʔ təl isk̓ìwəlx? 'Why, because I am old?' (interrogative-ablative my-old-progressive)

háʔ ʔaxaʔ ancìtxʷ? 'Do you mean your house?' (interrogative this-obviative your-house)

háʔ sc̓əkìnx? 'What's the matter?' (//háʔ s-əc-ʔkín-xx// 'interrogative absolute-actual-interrogative-progressive')

Examples of clause-initial háʔ:

háʔ kʷ ckìcəms y̓i t sqìlxʷ? 'Did somebody get to you?' (More literally, 'Were you approached/attacked by some people?')

háʔ kʷ ksk̓ʷənɬxʷəʔìltaʔx? 'How many times are you going to hold the baby?' (//háʔ kʷ kɬ-s-k̓ʷin-ɬ-xʷʔ-(í)lt-x-aʔ-x// 'interrogative you unrealized-absolute-how many-formative-hold-child-inchoative')

4.412. The dubitative interrogative particle is //ʔúc//. It is not a very common particle.

ʔúc kʷu ksɬx̣ʷpnúys? 'Maybe I'll get away from him.' (More literally, 'Maybe he won't catch me' or 'Will he catch me? [I don't know.]' Informant's comment: 'He has his fingers crossed.')

ʔúc kʷʔàyx̣ʷt? 'Are you tired?' [You shouldn't be.]'

ʔúc mi kən qʷəlqʷìlt? 'Will I be allowed to talk?'

ˀúc way̓ kʷinməˀàntp? 'Have you really decided?' ('Is that really your decision?')

4.42. Conjunctive.

4.421. Independent clause conjunctives.

4.4211. Additive. The particle //ˀuł// is the most common of all Colville clause particles. Its function is to connect constructions by introducing a notion, a development, a state in keeping with the situation previously established, be it expressed or implied.

In English it is usually glossed as 'and' or 'so', but very often not translated at all. *ˀuł* often opens an utterance and it is profusely used by many speakers at points of indecision, pause, or hesitation. A form *ˀúłiˀ* has been observed (cf. 4.511). It is considered a fossilized derived form //ˀuł-iˀ// 'and-past'.

The following narrative passage exemplifies the uses of *ˀuł*:

[a] ˀixiˀ xaˀtúscəlx y̓i ˀilmìxʷəmsəlx. [b] ˀuł kst̓əmkəˀílt. [c] way̓ ˀuł t̓aˀk̓əmxəwílx. [d] way̓ ˀuł tkłmílxʷ y̓i st̓əmkəˀìlc. [e] ˀuł swəynúmtx. '[a] This one was their leader, their boss. [b] And he had a daughter. [c] She was becoming a woman. [d] Yes, his daughter was already

a woman. [e] And she was good looking.'

4.4212. Contrastive. //nax̣mɬ// is a particle that introduces an independent clause. However, the notion contained in this clause takes exception to an earlier statement, assumption or premise, be it expressed or implied. nax̣əmɬ is usually glossed as 'but , however'.

xʷúy̓əx, nəpqʷəmnítkʷəntxʷ y̓i sc̓ìm, nàx̣əmɬ lut t̓i aksʕác̓əm. 'Go, throw the bones in the water, but don't look!' (//xʷúy̓-x n-pqʷmn-(í)tkʷ-n-t-(í)xʷ y̓i sc̓im nax̣mɬ lut t̓i an-kɬ-s-ʕác̓-m// 'go-imperative locative-throw-water-active-transitive-you definite bones contrastive not evidential your-unrealized-absolute-look-middle')

nàx̣əmɬ ikspúlstəm ˀitiˀ y̓i kʷu pulsc ist̓əmkəˀìlt. 'But I am going to kill the one who killed my daughter.' (//nax̣mɬ in-kɬ-s-púl-s-t-(í)m ˀit-íˀ y̓i kʷu púl-s-t-(í)s in-s-t̓mkəˀ-(í)lt// 'but my-unrealized-absolute-kill-causative-transitive-indefinite this-proximate definite me kill-causative-transitive-he my-absolute-daughter-child')

4.4213. Additional. //nixʷ// is most commonly translated into English as 'also, too, even, again'. It defines the clause it introduces as similar in content or result to a previously expressed or implied condition.

nixʷ nəɬíptəmən ɬ ikscut x̣əl̀ stìm̓ lutiʔ kən ckícx. 'Again I forgot to say what my excuse is for not coming.' (//nixʷ n-ɬíptm-n-t-(í)n ɬ in-kɬ-s-cú-t x̣l stím̓ lut-iʔ kn c-kícx// 'again locative-forget-active-transitive--I sequential my-unrealized-absolute-say-stative causal what not-past I cislocative-reach')

nixʷ ʔixíʔ ɬp̓əlàk̓. 'He too turned back.'

4.422. Dependent clause conjunctives,

4.4221. Additive. //mɬ// is the dependent counterpart of *ʔuɬ*. It cannot occur sentence-initially; the clause introduced by *məɬ* is the logical or temporal sequence to a previously expressed notion. An English gloss that approximates this notion is 'then next'. A form *məɬiʔ*, parallel to *ʔuɬiʔ* (cf. 4.4211) has been recorded.

The following passage exemplifies the use of *məɬ*:

[a] xʷúy̓, məɬ xʷíc̓əɬc y̓i xaʔxaʔìc ... [b] kʷís y̓i pəptwìnaʔxʷ, məɬ kəlk̓íc̓aʔs, məɬ kʷums lə sənk̓əʔìnaʔs. '[a] He would go, and give it to his grandmother ... [b] The old lady would take it, then she would wrap it, and then she would store it in [under] her bed.' ([a] //xʷúy̓ mɬ xʷíc̓-ɬ-t-(í)s y̓i xaʔ-xaʔít-s// 'go and-then give-expressed goal-transitive-he definite grandmother-his'; [b] //kʷín-n-t-(í)s y̓i p-ptwínaʔxʷ mɬ *klk̓*-(í)c̓aʔ-n-t-(í)s mɬ kʷúm-

n-t-(í)s l s-n-k̓əʔínaʔ-s// 'take-active-transitive-she definite old-lady and-then wrap-blanket-active-transitive--he and-then store-active-transitive-she locational absolute-locative-bed-hers')

4.4222. Alternative. //km̓// is a conjunctive particle meaning 'or'. It never occurs initially in independent sentences.

ksqʷəlqʷələnwíxʷaʔx, kəm̓ sx̣ʷúsəm p ksəʔìɬnaʔx. 'There is going to be a pow-wow, or [maybe] you folks are going to eat foam berries.' (//kɬ-s-qʷl-qʷil-nwíxʷ-x-ʔa-x km̓ s-x̣ʷus-m p kɬ-s-ʔiɬn-x-aʔ-x// 'unrealized-absolute-talk-talk-reciprocal-inchoative or absolute-foam-middle you pl. unrealized-absolute-eat-inchoative')

mət skəmxíst, kəm̓ mət səmx̣íkən. 'It was maybe a black bear, or maybe a grizzly.' (maybe black-bear or maybe grizzly)

4.4223. Causal. We have seen that *məɬ* is the dependent sequential counterpart of *ʔuɬ*. //ʔaɬiʔ// 'causal' is the dependent non-temporal counterpart of *ʔuɬ*. Its function is to introduce a clause which logically is a sequel to, a consequence of, the reason for, a given premise. The premise may be expressed or implied.

ʔixíʔ ikɬtkɬmìlxʷ, ʔaɬiʔ qʷəqʷənəʔqʷánaʔt. 'This one is going to be my wife, because she arouses pity.'

kən cxʷúy̓, ʔuɬ ʔaɬiʔ kʷ inx̣mínk. 'I came because I like you.' (More literally, 'I came, and that's because I like you.')

4.43. Evidential. //t̓xʷ// 'evidential' is used fairly frequently in narration and in conversation. It appears to be the clause level counterpart of t̓i, exempting the speaker from responsibility in what he is reporting. It may be glossed 'apparently', although informants usually do not translate it at all.

ʔuɬ stím̓ ʔixiʔ sck̓ʷùl̓əs?--t̓əxʷ sqílxʷ. 'And what is his [line of] work?--Apparently Indian work.' (//ʔuɬ stím̓ ʔix-íʔ s-əc-k̓ʷúl̓-s t̓xʷ s-qilxʷ// 'and what this-proximate absolute-actual-make-his evidential absolute-Indian')

ʔilíʔ ʔuɬ ksəʔstkìnaʔ, t̓əxʷ ʔaɬiʔ ʔístkəm. 'He settled there for the winter because it was already winter.' (//ʔilíʔ ʔuɬ kɬ-s-ʔistk-ínaʔ t̓xʷ ʔaɬiʔ ʔistk-m// 'be-there and possessive-absolute-winter-time evidential causal winter-middle')

4.44. Modal Particles.

4.441. Conditional. //cakʷ// 'conditional' adds to its IC partner the notion 'should', 'would', or 'wish'.[2]

cakʷ suliʔ ckícx! 'Wish that Julie would get here!'

cakʷ ʔaláʔ kiʔ nəʕcùsəntəm. 'We should set a trap for it right here.'

In complex sentences cakʷ is the IC partner of the dependent clause (the protasis); the independent clause constitutes the apodosis. These constructions are roughly equivalent to the English 'if ... then ...'.

cakʷ swit kʷu ɬxʷíc̓əɬcəlx inəʔìstən, way̓ təwmístən. 'If someone gave me back what I paid for it, I'd sell it.' (//cakʷ swit kʷu ɬ-xʷíc̓-ɬ-t-(í)s-lx in-ʔis-t-n way̓ tw-m-í-s-t-(í)n// 'should someone me back-give-expressed goal-transitive-he-plural my-pay-stative-instrumental it-is-so sell-middle-secondary-causative-transitive-I')

4.442. Probable. //cm̓// is a particle that marks the contents of the clause it introduces as probable.

nəc̓íxc̓əxəls, ʔaɬiʔ cəm̓ kʕ̓ʷuʔncútəmsəlx. 'This is shameful, because people might laugh at it.' (//n-c̓ix-c̓x-(î)ls ʔaɬiʔ cm̓ kʕ̓ʷuʔ-n-t-sút-m-s-lx [this form involves more than one derivational cycle]// 'locative-shame-state of mind causal probable laugh-active-transitive-reflexive-middle-his-plural')

cəm̓ cútəlx: lút. 'They might say: No.'

4.443. Conjectural. //mt// marks the contents of the clause it introduces as possible (but in doubt).

mət təwmísc Myrtle y̓i cìtxʷs. 'Myrtle's house must have been sold.' (//mt tw-m-í-s-t-(í)s ... y̓i citxʷ-s// 'conjectural sell-middle-secondary-causative-transitive-she ... definite house-hers')

mət k̓ʷənxásq̓ət kiʔ ɬyaʕ̓ápəlx. 'It was an indeterminate number of days before they all returned.' (//mt k̓ʷinx-(á)sq̓t kiʔ ɬ-yaʕ̓-p-lx// 'conjectural how many-days relative back-gather-non-control-plural')

4.45. Future. //mi// is a particle which marks its (independent) clause as future.[3]

ʔixìʔ mi kən ckícx, ʔixìʔ mi kʷu tkʷəʔút. 'Then I will return here, and that's when we will go away.'

ʔilíʔ mi kən púlx. 'It's there that I will camp.'

4.46. Relative. //kiʔ// is a dependent clause particle that occurs obligatorily with a preceding predicative constituent. It is a relativizing particle, pinpointing, specifying or expanding the notion contained in the preceding clause. The reference may be temporal, spatial, or causal. It functions very much like the English conjunction 'that' in sentences like 'It was there that ...'.

swít kiʔ kʷis y̓i sq̓ʷəq̓ʷìməlt? 'Who was it that took the baby?'

ʔilíʔ kiʔ cƛ̓əlpùl̓axʷ. 'It was there that we camped.' (//ʔilíʔ kiʔ əc-ƛ̓al-p-(ú)l̓axʷ// 'be-there relative actual-stop -non-control-land')

For further discussion related to kiʔ, cf. 4.33.

4.5. Restricted words. It has been stated that Colville independent words are predicative. By themselves they constitute full sentences. However, the function and distribution of a number of independent words is restricted. Consider the restricted word *kʷmíɬ* 'it was suddenly/unexpectedly that ...':

(a) it can occur (as the first clause) in a compound sentence

kʷmíɬ ʔuɬ xʷúy̓. 'He went suddenly.' ('It was suddenly, and he went.' Cf. sqílxʷ ʔuɬ xʷúy̓. 'The Indian went.' ['He was Indian, and he went.'])

(b) it can occur as the predicate followed by a complement in a simple sentence

kʷmíɬ xʷùy̓. 'He went suddenly.' (Cf. sqílx xʷùy̓. 'An **Indian** went, [not someone else].' Cf. also the non-emphatic sentence xʷúy̓ sqìlxʷ. 'An indian went,' to which there is no parallel form **xʷúy̓ kʷmìɬ*.)

(c) it can appear in the same position that an independent sentence would appear in, in a complex sentence

kʷmíɬ kiʔ xʷùy̓. 'He went suddenly.' ('It was suddenly that he went.' Cf. sqílxʷ kiʔ xʷùy̓. 'It was an Indian who went.')

(d) but it cannot occur **alone** as the predicate of a simple independent sentence. *kʷmíɬ* does occur by itself as a response, but it is felt to be incomplete--a fragmentary sentence (cf. the opening paragraph of section 4.)

kən sqílxʷ. 'I am an Indian.'
kən xʷúy̓. 'I go.'
(but not *kən kʷmíɬ.)

sqílxʷ. 'He is an Indian.'
xʷúy̓. 'He goes.'
(but not *kʷmíɬ.)

Thus,

(a) restricted words as predicates are always accompanied by other independent words;

(b) restricted words, with the exceptions noted below, do not participate in the inflectional and derivational patterns characteristic of other independent words.

Some of the words discussed in the following sections meet both these conditions; others only one of the two.

4.51. Impersonals are restricted words. Most commonly they introduce a dependent clause, as exemplified in section 4.5, example (c), above; often they also occur in compound sentences, as exemplified in (a); and sometimes before a complement in a simple sentence (b). In English they are usually glossed with adverbial phrases.

4.511. Imperfective impersonals. q̓əsápiʔ, ʕápnaʔ and nəy̓ʕíp are three restricted words which share the unifying semantic feature 'duration of time'. They are imperfective. They share a segment p which may well be, or at least it is probably historically related to the suffix //-p// 'non-control' (3.113).

q̓əsápiʔ refers to duration of past time and can be translated 'for a long time it used to be that ...', 'it has been a long time since ...'

Comparative evidence shows that this form can be analyzed as //q̓as-p-iʔ//: q̓as 'long time, old'; -p 'non-control'; -iʔ 'past'. In Colville //-iʔ// is a very rare morpheme. It occurs with two intransitive stems, pútiʔ 'it was just then' (cf. pút 'it suffices'); and lútiʔ 'it was not' (cf. lút 'it is not'). Interestingly, it also occurs attached to two particles which, otherwise, never undergo inflection or derivation: ʔúłiʔ 'and, in the past' (cf. ʔuł 'and'); and məłiʔ 'and, subordinate, in the past' (cf. məł 'and, subordinate').

q̓əsàpiʔ y̓i sqilxʷ səʔìłəns y̓i sƛ̓aʔcínəm. 'For a long time the Indians used to eat deer.'

q̓əsápiʔ sənkʷəkʷəʔàc. 'It was long after dark.'

q̓əsápiʔ has been found in the absolute mode, conjugated with the third person absolutive pronoun, sq̓əsápiʔs 'it was a long time.' This form is fully predicative, and can occur as an independent sentence, in isolation.

ʕápnaʔ refers to duration of present time and can be translates 'it is now that ...'

ʕápnaʔ kʷu ksyaʕ̓ɔmìxaʔx. 'It is now that we are all going to gather.'
ʕápnaʔ sk̓əlàxʷ. 'It's this evening.'

nəyʕ̓íp is probably related to yaʕ̓ 'gather' (cf. the example four lines above).[4] It refers to duration of time without specification of tense and can be translated 'it is/was/will be continuously/forever/always that ...'

nəyʕ̓íp cùntəm t ʔilìkʷəlkxɔn ... 'Ramhorn kept telling him ...' (More literally, 'It was over and over that he was told by Ramhorn ...')
nəyʕ̓íp lut sk̓əwàps. 'All the time it wouldn't stop.'

4.512. Perfective impersonals. Two restricted words share the semantic feature 'specific point in time': kʷmíɬ 'it is/was at once/suddenly/unexpectedly that ...'; and qʷúm̓ 'it was at a particular moment long ago that ...'

kʷmíɬ kiʔ kʷu cùsəlx. 'It was unexpectedly when they told me that.'

t̓i kʷmíł silxʷatwìlx. 'Suddenly she grew large (as from pregnancy).'

kʷmìł qʷəlqʷìlstəm y̓i t sc̓ìms. 'It was suddenly that that pile of bones began to talk.'

qʷúm̓ kiʔ wikən isənqsìlxʷ. 'It was a long time ago that I last saw my relatives.'

qʷúm̓ ƛ̓əlàl. 'It's a long time ago that he died.'

4.513. Quantitative words. Three restricted words have quantitative or limiting references: *talíʔ* 'it is very much'; *məyáł* 'it is too much'; and *kmíx* 'it is only...' These words do not occur in the environment described in section 4.5(c).

talíʔ kən ʔàyx̣ʷt. 'I am very tired.'

talíʔ smànxʷ. 'There is a great deal of tobacco.'

məyáł smìk̓ʷət. 'There is too much snow.'

məyáł t̓ət̓àq̓aʔt. 'He is too short.'

kmíx has a dialectal variant *kmáx* which is used as the norm by those Colville speakers who lived as children, or still live in the northern portion of the Colville speaking territory.[5]

kmíx incàʔ. 'There is only me.'

kmíx scqʕàwx. 'He is always drunk.'

kmíx undergoes some inflection, albeit very limited. Cf. the defective paradigm (other forms seem to be lacking):

kʷu kəmxáx. ʷWe are by ourselves.'

kəmxáxəlx. 'They are by themselves.'

ckm̓áxəlx ~ ckəm̓əmáxəlx. 'They are all by themselves.'

The last form is apparently a diminutive as shown by the glottalization of m).

4.514. Assertive. wáy̓ regularly occurs in isolation, usually as a responsive utterance. When so uttered it is an assertive positive form signaling agreement or concurrence with the interlocutor's yes-or-no question, or statement. It can also be followed by a positional complement reaffirming the first interlocutor's statement or question, much as in English one would say, 'Yes, I/it/they...do/did/went...', etc.

When wáy̓ opens an independent (non-responsive) sentence, it signals that the statement about to follow is an assertion, and its function may be compared to the stylistic effect obtained by 'well' in an utterance such as 'Well, it finally worked.' In such cases it is accompanied by a rising-falling pitch contour.

It should be noted that wáy̓ bears a phonetic resemblance to ʔíwaʔ (see 4.223), and to the root wíy̓ 'complete, finish', and that both may be related to húy 'finish'.

ʔúc kʷ xʷùy̓ʔ--wáy̓. (kən xʷúy̓.) 'Did you go?--Yes, I did. (I went.)'

wày̓ kən pəptw̓ína̓ʔxʷ. 'I am sure an old lady.'

wày̓ kʷ inx̣əmínk. 'I really like you.'

4.515. Topicals. All topicals are restricted words. They occur sentence initially as predicates, roughly translatable as 'It is that ...', 'It is from /to here/there that ...'; and similar expressions. They do not occur alone as predicates. Topicals are part of the Colville deictic system, which is convenient to discuss here as a whole.

4.5151. All deictic words are compositional in nature. Their bases are of the shape ʔVC$_1$(C$_2$). To them are added two suffixes, //-íʔ// 'proximate', and //-áʔ// 'obviative'; the root vowel V harmonizes with the suffix vowel: it is i before //-íʔ//, and a before //-áʔ//.

With the exception of the consonant x (C$_1$ in ʔixíʔ and ʔaxáʔ), C$_1$ and C$_2$ are clearly related to particles found in the language (Cf. 4.32): //t// 'source'; //l// 'location'; //k̓// 'motion toward'. In addition, the combination of these elements yields additional forms: //tl// 'direction from'; //k̓l// 'direction (in)to'. Forms with x are the unmarked, generic deictics.

The Colville topical deictic words are:

//ʔVx-íʔ// ʔixíʔ 'It is at this place/time (proximate) that ...', 'It is he (proximate) who ...' etc.

//ʔVx-áʔ// ʔaxáʔ 'It is at this place/time (obviative) that ...' etc.

//ʔVt-íʔ// ʔitíʔ 'It is he (proximate) who ...' etc.

//ʔVt-áʔ// ʔatáʔ 'It is he (obviative) who ...' etc.

//ʔVt-l-íʔ// ʔitləiʔ 'It is from there (proximate) that ...' etc.

//ʔVt-l-áʔ// ʔatláʔ 'It is from there (obviative) that ...' etc.

//ʔVk̓-l-íʔ// ʔik̓əlíʔ 'It is to there (proximate) that ...'

//ʔVk̓-l-áʔ// ʔak̓əláʔ 'It is to there (obviative) that ...'

It is the rule that of any of two items in pairs exhibiting the opposition 'proximate': 'obviative', the proximate forms are the more common, by the approximate ratio of 4 to 1. No topical word has been found to combine with any further affixes or with any particles to yield more complex forms, with two rare exceptions: *ʔixíʔəm* and *ʔaxáʔəm* (of meanings identical to *ʔixíʔ* and *ʔaxáʔ*, respectively), which appear to be middles.

By far the most common type of construction that involves topical words is one in which the topic is followed by a simple sentence, predicate and optional complement(s). To exemplify effectively the proximate and obviative functions of these words, longer contexts will have to be quoted.

[a] lut sq̓əsápiʔs,	'It wasn't long (after that),
[b] wáy̓, ʔixíʔ ʔuɬ silxʷatwìlxs.	well, it happened, she grew larger.
[c] ʔixìʔ stxt̓ət̓íʔsc.	The fact was that she was pregnant.
[d] ʔuɬ ʔaxáʔ nəstils y̓i st̓aʔk̓əmìx: ...	And at this point the girl thought: ...

[a] ʔitìʔ sxʷstálqʷs spapʕàɬaʔ.	'It was (from) there that Ape had crossed (on) the log.
[b] "ta ʔkín kiʔ kʷ nìʔak̓ʷ?"	"Where is the place where you crossed?"
[c] "ʔatáʔ kən ctkxmálqʷ."	"It's right here that I crossed."'

ksx̣əlpínaʔəlx, ʔuɬ ʔitlìʔ xʷúy̓əlx. 'Daylight came upon them, and from that moment they started their journey.'

ʕác̓ənt! ʔatláʔ kʷ ʔuckəlìpəm. 'Look! You can get down to the bottom (of the canyon) from here.'

ʔik̓əlíʔ kiʔ xʷùy̓əsc. 'It was there that we took him.'

cakʷ kən ksc̓ìmxaʔx ʔak̓əláʔ. 'I should move to this place (not stay where I live).'

4.5152. The remainder of the deictic system. In addition to the eight deictic forms just discussed, all found to be restricted words, two other forms complete the system, both independent words. They are

//ʔVl-íʔ// ʔilíʔ. 'It's here/there (proximate).'
//ʔVl-áʔ// ʔaláʔ. 'It's here/there (obviative).'
(Cf. //l// 'location')

Unlike all the other deictics, *ʔilíʔ* and *ʔaláʔ* undergo inflection and derivation freely. In addition, they may stand alone as simple predicates:

//ʔVl-íʔ// ʔilíʔ. 'He lives here.'
kən ʔilíʔ. 'I live here.'
kʷu ʔaláʔ. 'We live here.'
sənəʔilítəntət. 'This is our residence.' (//s-n-ʔVl-íʔ-t-n-tt// 'absolute-locative-be there-proximate-stative-instrumental-our')

The following chart summarizes the Colville deictic system.

	Generic	Source	Direction from which	Location	Direction to which
	(x)	(t)	(tl)	(l)	(k̓l)
Prox.	ʔixíʔ	ʔitíʔ	ʔitlíʔ	ʔilíʔ	ʔik̓əlíʔ
Obv.	ʔaxáʔ	ʔatáʔ	ʔatláʔ	ʔaláʔ	ʔak̓əláʔ

4.5153. Certain forms have been found that appear to function as deictic (restricted) words, but do not lend themselves to extensive analysis and discussion. It is extremely rare to find them used in normal speech situations, and attempts to elicit material that could clarify their functions have so far proved ineffective. They are ɬaʔ 'near', and ɬuʔ, of undetermined meaning. Forms that may be cognate with these have been described for other Interior Salishan languages: Coeur d'Alene, Columbian, Kalispel and Spokan.

4.52. Interrogative-indefinites. Not all of the interrogative-indefinite roots form restricted words. Cf., for example, the root //ʔkín// 'happen', which forms intransitive stems that stand alone as full predicates, and otherwise function like independent words.

//s-əc-ʔkín-xx// sc̓əkínx. 'What's the matter with him?'
kʷ sc̓əkínx. 'What's the matter with you?'
lut kən t̓i c̓əkínəm. 'As you can see, nothing has happened to me.'

//ʔkín// may also cooccur with several particles, forming elements which function very much like the impersonals discussed above:

//l ʔkín// la ʔkín 'Where is it?'
k̓a ʔkín 'Where has it gone?' ('To where is it?')
tla ʔkín 'Where did it come from? ('From where is it?')

Examples in longer sentences follow.

k̓a ʔkín ʔuɬ kʷ xʷùy̓. 'Where is it you went?'
k̓a ʔkín kʷ xʷùy̓. 'Where did you go?'
k̓a ʔkín kiʔ kʷ xʷùy̓. 'Where is it that you went?'

In contrast with ʔkín, the independent words stím̓ 'what', and swít 'who', also interrogative-indefinite words, are restricted.

stím̓ ʔaxàʔ. 'What is this?'
lut stím̓. 'It's nothing.'
stím̓ ck̓ʷùl̓əsc. 'What's he doing?'

swít askʷìst. 'What's your name?' (Note that *stím̓ askʷìst is not permissible.)
swít ʔaxàʔ. 'Who's that person?'
lut swít. 'It's nobody.'
yayaʕt swít. 'It's everybody.'

There is, however, one example in the corpus in which stím̓ undergoes affixation typical of an independent word:
lut t̓i kstím̓əlx. 'As you can see, they have nothing.'
(//lut t̓i kɬ-stím̓-lx// 'not evidential possessive-something-plural')

4.53. Interjections very often occur as isolated utterances; elsewhere they are always analyzable as independent clauses in compound sentences. Some common interjections are:

məˤán. 'Surprise!'
kmátəm. 'That's right!'
nət̓áˀ. 'Good!'
níkxnaˀ. 'My goodness!!
ˀámsəm̓. 'Poor thing!'
ˀáx̣. 'Disgusting!'
nák̓ʷəm. 'Indeed!'

4.54. Proper names do not undergo inflection. In addition to native place and personal names, Colville has borrowed a great number of proper names, primarily from French, but also from English.

kʷikʷitás. 'He is kʷikʷitás.'
siˀpíc̓aˀ. 'She is siˀpíc̓aˀ.
supíˀ. 'She is Sophie.'
susạ́p. 'He is Joseph.'
nəcaˀlíwəm. 'It is [the town of] Inc̬helium.'
wahúˀ. 'It is Hawaii.' (Oahu?)

4.55 Independent pronouns. Although independent pronouns can stand alone as predicates, they do not undergo any derivation beyond that described in section 3.172. In any given sentence they can function as predicates or as complements.

incáʔ kən xʷùy̓. 'It is I who went.'
incáʔ kiʔ kən xʷûy̓. 'It is I who went.'
cúntəm t incàʔ. 'Someone was told by me.'

4.56. Some problematic restricted words. In this section are presented
(a) words that at the present stage of research are difficult to classify; and
(b) words that participate widely in inflection and derivation, but whose frequency of occurrence is overwhelmingly in their uninflected form.

A brief discussion of both types follows.

4.561 Words difficult to classify.

n̓ín̓əw̓iʔ is a quite common word. It is translated by the informants in a bewildering variety of ways. It is impossible at this time to be certain of its basic meaning(s). The one tenuous evidence of a common denominator involves the concept of 'contingency'. Except for one case, a stereotyped expression, the reference is to future time. I can only list a few of the more plausible ways to render it in English: 'If and when that happens...', 'It may happen that...', 'There will probably be...'

n̓ín̓əw̓iʔ kənxítənt. 'If that happens we will help.'
n̓ìn̓əw̓iʔ ʔaƛ̓əʕaƛ̓əcínəməncən. 'When that happens I will chew you up.'

n̓ín̓əw̓iʔ is involved only in two stereotyped expressions, *t̓ə sn̓ín̓əw̓iʔ*. 'It was a little while ago.', and *k̓ʷaʔ n̓ín̓əw̓iʔ*. 'It will be in a little while.'

síc is readily glossed by the informants. They usually translate it 'new'. However, the range would seem to be somewhat broader than that gloss would suggest.

ʔixiʔ anɬqʷíkəntən sìc. 'That tire of yours is new.'
sic xʷíkʷsəlx. 'Tanning hides is just this [what I have been describing].'
sic cús. 'He finally spoke to him.'

4.562. *pút* and *lút* are two very common words. Although they can undergo extensive derivational and inflectional changes, they nearly always occur uninflected.

//pút// means 'It is just/enough.':
put kən x̣stwílx, mi sic kən ˀácqaˀ. 'Just when I get better, [that's when] I'll come out.'
nəpútəls. 'He is satisfied.'

//lút// is the negative stem 'It is not.'
ˀúc kʷ ˀàyx̣ʷt?--lút. 'Are you tired?--No.'
lút ˀayx̣ʷt. 'He's not tired.'
sclútəm. 'He refuses.'
kslúts. 'He is excepted.'

Footnotes

[1] We have seen that in Colville, predicates are modified by means of pronominal and other elements to mark certain relationships with the complements of the proposition. Crudely, these relationships are summarized as follows: (1) primary reference, reminiscent of English intransitive verbs; (2) transitive, reminiscent of English transitive verbs; (3) absolutive, reminiscent of English nominalizations. It is also to be noted that (4) Colville has no copula. This summary amounts to a list of Colville basic sentence types (for analogous analytical procedures applied to English, see Thomas [1965:21ff]). Clause particles (from a generative point of view) reflect the operation of certain changes on the basic Colville sentences, such as coordination, subordination, relativization, interrogation, etc.

[2] I have noticed an occational variant *cakʷəm*. I have not been able to determine with certainty that this is merely an optional stylistic variant of *cakʷ*, and the possibility remains that *cakʷ* is an independent word, perhaps restricted.

[3] A rare form *mína?* exists in Colville with the meaning 'will not'. Clearly it is related to *mi*, but the element *-na?* does not recur elsewhere.

[4] The relationship may be seen more clearly if it is recognized that pre-Colville *á regularly developed to modern í except before a back consonant. Thus here an old *//n-yaʕ̓-p// *nəyʕ̓áp became nəyʕ̓íp ~ niʕ̓íp, while old *//yaʕ̓// became yáʕ̓

[5] This fact surely will deserve further attention since it has important historical implication; however, these considerations are beyond the immediate scope of this description.

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